COMMUNICATION LINES AND CENTERS[11]

489 Communications are quite well developed in this region, especially in Hopei Province where roads can be easily built because of the extensive plain In northern Hopei Province the highways and railways converge on two main centers, Peking and Tientsin. Peking, the capital of the 361 People's Republic of China, has a population of [162] over 2,000,000. Since the establishment of the Communist government, this historic metropolis has been undergoing extensive reconstruction. Around the Academy of Sciences (Academia Sinica) in the northwestern suburb of the city there is being developed a "cultural town" which upon completion will cover an area one-third larger than the old city itself. Among the dozens [543] of new construction projects in Peking, the Russian Exhibition Hall, opened in September 1954, is the most pretentious and most impressive. It is located outside Hsi-chih Gate in the northwest sector of the old city. The eastern and southern parts of Peking are sites of industrial plants.

496 From Peking one can travel northward to Inner 489 Mongolia via the Peking-Pao-t'ou Railway which passes through Kalgan. The latter is located on one of the historic routes traveled over the cen-

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[11] Ch'eng Kuang-yü, Chung-kuo Tu-shih [The Cities of China], Taipei, Chung-hua wen hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953.

1:Stanford U.S-4,5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

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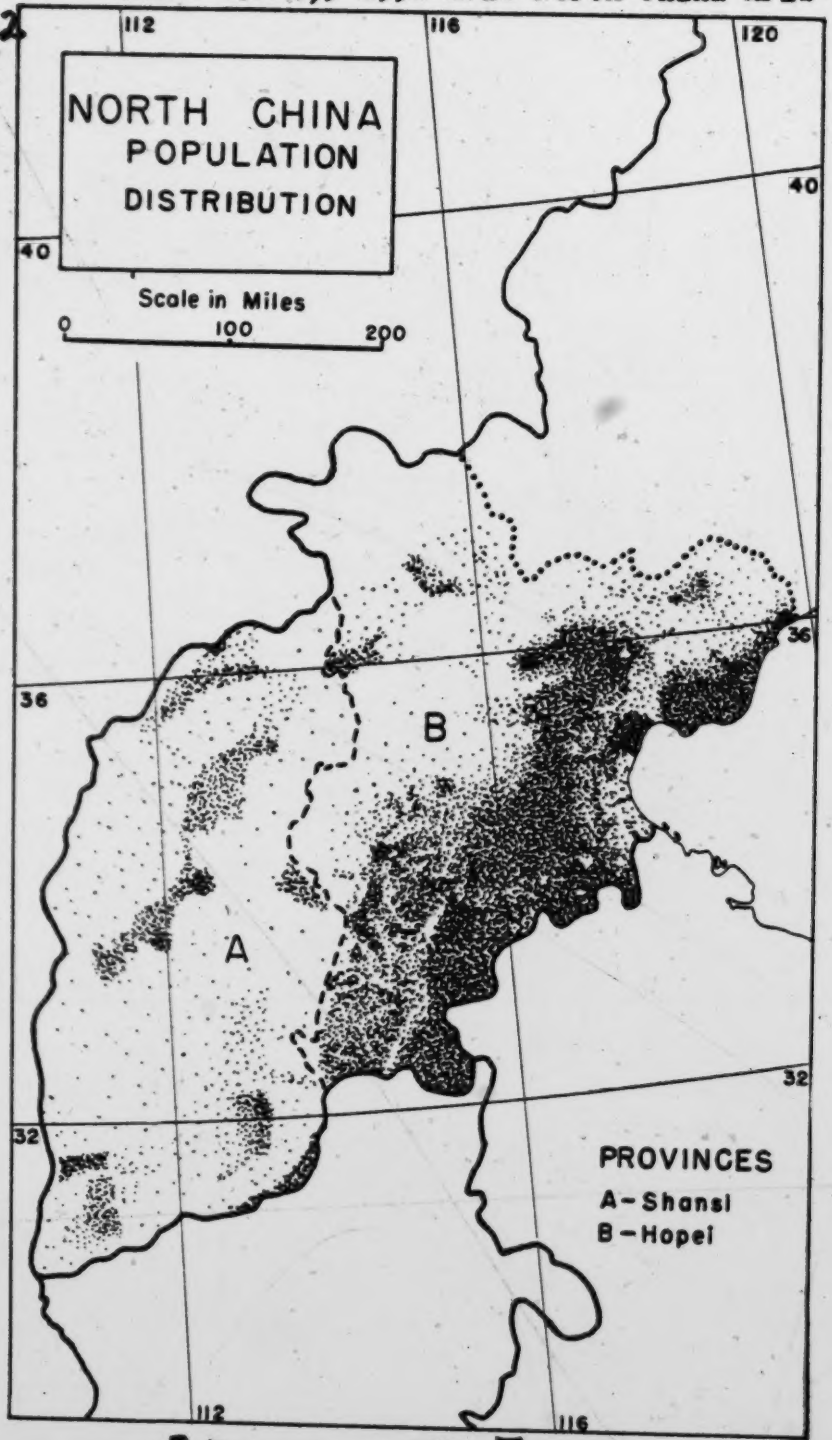

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1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

165 census had been compiled, the death rate in Peking dropped to 0.06 per cent.[10] This noticeable drop in the death rate was attributed to the success of Communist regime's selective economic reconstruction program whereby important localities receive immediate attention. Because Peking is the capital, its sanitation system is among the first to be improved. However, the influx of young adult workers with lower specific death rates may account for the lower average death rate.

II. COMPOSITION

● 162 A. Age Composition

The birth rate and number of children in Tientsin cited in the preceding paragraphs indicate that the average age in Tientsin is somewhat lower than the national average. If this city could be used as an indication of the population composition of the entire region (data on other localities in the region are still unavailable), then the age group of 1-4 is 16.6 per cent of the total, slightly lower than the 15.6 per cent national figure. Apart from these figures, there is no information on the population of this region to contradict the national age group breakdown shown in the People's Daily report (November 1, 1954, p. 3.)

[10] "Sharp Drop in Death Rate," Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 828, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

B. Sex Ratio

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The official communique reporting the results of the 1953 census failed to disclose any regional breakdown on the sex ratio of the Chinese population. On this question the latest available information is that which was released by the Ministry of the Interior of the Chinese Nationalist Government in 1948 and which has since been quoted in all official reports.

Table 3. Sex Ratio in North China Population (1948) */
(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

Hopei Province	116.25
Shansi Province	121.62
Peking Municipality	125.66
Tientsin Municipality	133.43
Average	118.92

*/ Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1955.

C. Rural and Urban Population

162 178 The traditionally large percentage of rural population in China undoubtedly still holds true to a great extent in the North China Region. However, the effect of industrialization on the basically agricultural nature of this region should be mentioned. Since the North China Region is undergoing intensive industrialization, the urban-rural population ratio may change radically. Although the

1: Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

absence of detailed statistics makes it difficult to show a trend toward an increase in urban population, it can be stated that the national average of 86.74 per cent for rural population may not be accurate for this region. Allowance must be made when comparing present reports with the following table which is based on the latest available data of 1948:

Table 4. Rural and Urban Population in North China (1948) */

(Per Cent)

	Rural	Urban
Hopei	84.54	15.46
Shansi	65.74	34.26
Peking	---	100.00
Tientsin	---	100.00
Regional Average ..	72.58	27.42

*/ Chung-hua Nien-chien [The China Year Book], Shanghai, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p.108.

It should also be noted that the ratio figures in Table 4 appear to conflict with the trend of population movement from rural area to urban centers, in view of the 1953 national average of 86.75 per cent for urual areas. The matter of different definitions of "urbanity" and the expansion of Tientsin into a "municipality" to include a wide suburban area should be considered.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 1. FAMILY STUDIES

CHAPTER II

Population and Other Vital Statistics

162 THE POPULATION of Ting Hsien was generally estimated to be, in round numbers, forty 10,000s or 400,000 persons. The total could only be estimated for no complete census had been taken in the hsien. The families had been counted, but individuals had been counted only in sample groups of families. Our count of the families living in the hsien multiplied by 5.83, the average number of persons per family in a 7.5 per cent sample, gave a total population of 408,300, only 2.1 per cent more than the generally estimated 400,000.[1]

161 The average population density for the hsien was 95 persons per square li, 850 persons per square mile of total area. It was 1,100 persons per square mile of crop area. In determining these figures the area and population of the hsien city and its three suburbs have been included, as 72 per cent of their area was cultivated land. In America the population density per square mile of total area in 1930 was 649.8 in Rhode Island, 537.4 in Massachusetts, and 136.4 in Illinois.[2] Buck found the population density in a Hopei district 100 miles south of Ting Hsien to be 1,171 persons per square mile of farm area.[3]

162 361 According to our count there were 70,034 families in Ting Hsien in 1931. They were living in the hsien city, 10 "towns" and 443 "villages". We have not attempted to differentiate between the "towns" and "villages" for while the "towns" generally had more families than the "villages" there were some "villages" that were larger than the neighboring "town". Seventy-two of the "villages" held periodic markets, not all of them as large as those of the "towns" but very similar.

1. In 1947 the Ministry of the Interior reported the Ting Hsien population to be 445,474.

2. U.S. Census, 1930.

3. J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1930).

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933),1954 AF 12 North China AF 1

There were 2,169 families in the city, and 67,865 in the 453 "villages" and "towns".

The number of families in the individual villages ranged from six to 1,200. Twenty per cent of the villages had less than 50 families, 46 per cent had less than 100 families, and 75 per cent had less than 200 families. Only seven, 1.5 per cent, had as many as 500 families. The average was 150 families per village, or 154 families if the hsien city is included.

The following figures show how the villages and families were divided in the six administrative districts of the hsien.

District	*Villages*	*Families*	*Average No. of Families per Village*	*Average No. of Mu per Family*
1	71	6,555	92	23.8
2	63	8,062	128	22.8
3	83	15,939	192	21.5
4	73	16,010	220	19.7
5	73	7,864	108	19.1
6	90	13,435	149	19.8
City	—	2,169	—	6.2
	453	70,034	150	20.4

It will be noted that in the different districts the number of villages varied from 63 to 90, the number of families from 6,555 to 16,010, and the average number of families per village from 92 to 220. We have not been able to find any reason for the wide variation in the averages. There were four market towns in the 4th District, the one with the largest average, but while there were two market towns in both the 3rd and the 5th District the average in the 5th District was 50 per cent more than in the 3rd. There was no market town in the 1st District as the city was its market center. If the city and 1st District are added together the average was 121 families per "village".

In contrast to the wide variation in the average number of families per village, there was only a small difference in the average amount of crop area per family in the six districts. It ranged from 19.1 mu in the 5th District to 23.8 mu in the 1st District. The average for the entire hsien, including the city and its three suburbs, was 20.2 mu per family.

A complete study of any part of the Chinese population is a difficult

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

task. The people, especially those living in the country, are fearful lest the figures be used as a basis for taxation or for the recruiting of soldiers and laborers for the army, or laborers for public works projects such as dyke and road building. Reports given to Government enumerators are often very incomplete and sometimes attempts have been made to "persuade" the census takers, counting not individuals but families, to send in figures much below the actual number.

Our investigators naturally met some of this same suspicion when they were counting the families and still greater difficulties when securing detailed reports from individual families. Boys were sometimes omitted lest information about them make it possible to cast their horoscope and exert an evil influence over them; young men because of possible military service. Young girls would be left out because some families feel they do not amount to much; unmarried women because it was felt that the fact that they were unmarried reflected on the family. These difficulties were overcome, at least partially, by the fact that the study was made by representatives of the Mass Education Movement, and the matter had been discussed beforehand with the village heads in order to clear up any misunderstandings and obtain their active help and cooperation. In many villages they accompanied the investigators from house to house, and their knowledge of the individual families often made it possible for them to remind the family heads of some members that they had "overlooked". In one town we counted 200 more families than the official figure.

A "family" in this study included the present members of the family and the absent relatives who shared in the family budget. A person living alone was counted as a one-person "family." Employees were not included as they were listed with their own families.

Our population figures were secured by an extensive study of the number of families living in the hsien and by intensive studies of five different groups of families that together included 8,464 families and 49,609 individuals. Two of the studies were definite population studies. In the others securing the figures on the size of the families was incidental to the collection of other material.

The groups of families, their location, the number of families and persons included, the date of the study, the size of the average family, and the masculinity rate (males per 100 females) were:

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

Study	Families	Persons	Year	Location	See Chapter	Average Size of Family	Masculinity Rate
1	400	2,536	1927	Experimental District	III	6.3	108
2	34	205	1928	Experimental District	V	6.0	107
3	515	3,571	1929	Experimental District	II	6.9	106
4	5,255	30,642	1930	1st Dist., 80 per cent of families	II	5.8	106
5	2,260	12,655	1932	6th Dist., 6 villages	IV	5.6	112

The averages for the first three groups cannot be considered typical community figures as the groups were not random samples. They all included more than an average number of middle class and well-to-do families. The 34 and the 515 family studies included no one-person "families".

In our first studies our field workers found it easier to get the wealthier families to cooperate. We had no figures to indicate what was the average distribution of the families in different property and income groups. We wanted to have enough of the middle class and wealthier families so that the group figures would show what, if any, difference there was in the average size of the families in the different income groups.

That the size of the family was definitely related to the size of the family income was one of the first facts shown by our studies. Whether the family income was estimated in dollars or the income groups were divided according to the size of the family farm, it was clearly evident that, on the average, the size of the family increased as the family income increased. This did not necessarily mean an increase in the number of children in the family but in the number in the group living together. There were relatives who were willing to make use of any increased income. In some cases the family membership and the family income were both large because the family had not been "divided"; brothers and their families were still living together.

In our first study, of 400 farm families, the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for families with not more than 10 mu of land to 13.5 persons for those with more than 100 mu. In our third study the families with less than 10 mu of land averaged 4.7 persons; those with 100 mu or more averaged 12.9 persons. In our fifth study the average was 4.1 persons for the families with no land and 13.2 for those with 100 mu or more.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 22 North China AF 12

With a 100 per cent increase in the size of the family farm there was a tendency for the size of the average family to increase some 30 per cent in the 515 families, 35 per cent in the 400 farm families, and some 40 per cent in the 1,220 home industry families. 162

In the second study the size of the average family increased from 3.8 persons for the group with incomes of less than $200 per year to 9.3 persons for those whose annual income was between $400 and $500. With a 100 per cent increase in the family income the size of the family tended to increase over 50 per cent, but the small number of families in the different income groups makes for a large probable error in this figure.

From these figures it is quite evident that unless the economic status of the families in a sample group closely follows that of the entire community the averages of the sample group will not be typical.

The 5,255 family group is our most typical family sample and therefore the one whose average family, 5.83 persons, is nearest in size to the average family in Ting Hsien. In that study we attempted to include all the families living in the 1st District, but as six of the 71 villages refused to cooperate and a few individual family reports had to be omitted because of incomplete or evidently incorrect reporting, the 5,255 families finally included were 80 per cent of the families in the district and a 7.5 per cent sample of all the families in the hsien.

The average size of the 2,260 families in six villages was 5.6 persons, slightly less than the 5.8 average for the 5,255 families. As the villages were chosen for study because of the amount of their home industry they possibly included a larger than normal proportion of lower income families and would therefore have a lower than normal average family. The average for the 1,220 home industry families that we studied in detail was 5.2 persons per family.

The individual families in the 5,255 family group varied in size from one to 65 persons. There were 194 families with only one member and 402 with two members. These two groups were 11.3 per cent of the entire number. It was generally stated that the Chinese "large family" system prevailed in Ting Hsien, but 55 per cent of the families had from one to five members, 78 per cent had not more than seven members, and 91.3 per cent had from one to 10 members. Only 37 families, 0.7 per cent, had more than 20 members, and only 13 families had more than 25 members. The largest group of families was that with four mem- 162 592 596

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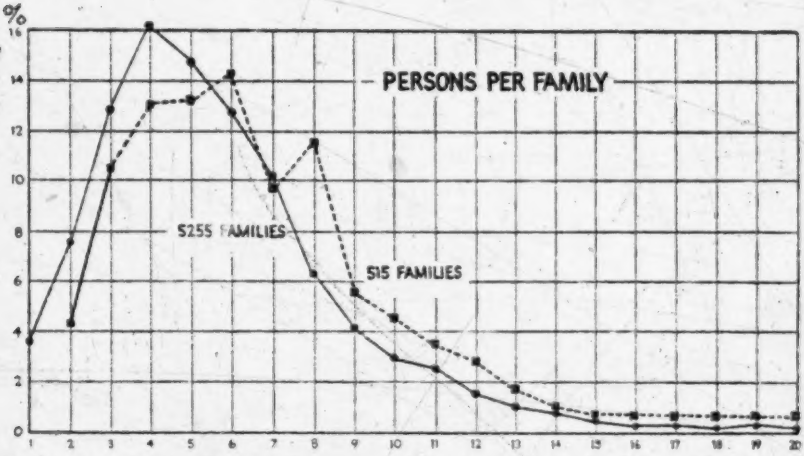

FIGURE 4. SIZE OF FAMILIES, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

bers. It had 852 families, almost one-sixth of the families studied. Figure 4 shows the per cent distribution of the different sized families in the 5,255 and the 515 family groups.

One-third of the individuals in the 5,255 families belonged to families with from one to five members and four-fifths to those with from one to 10 members. Only 7.2 per cent belonged to families with more than 15 members and 3.2 per cent to families with more than 20 members.

In the 515 families of the Experimental District the size of the families varied from two to 22 members. The average, 6.9 persons per family, was 1.1 more than for the 5,255 families in the 1st District, but, as stated above, the 515 families were not an average group. No single member "families" were included and the families selected were chosen partly on the basis of the amount of land they owned. Nineteen per cent of this group owned 50 or more mu of land, compared with 7.8 per cent of the families in the hsien. The families with over 100 mu were 3.5 per cent of the 515 families, but only 1.2 per cent of all the families in the hsien. (See Chapter X.)

In the home industry group the size of the families varied from one to 30 members. Fifty-one per cent had less than five members and 93.4

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

per cent had less than 10 members. The corresponding figures for the 5,255 families were 40.5 and 88.4 per cent.

Five hundred and seven individuals, 1.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families, were away from home when our study was made. Only seven of these were females. This number did not, of course, include any married daughters as they would be counted as members of their husband's family. Peking and Tientsin, with cheap railway transportation available, offered industrial and educational opportunities that attracted at least some of the residents of Ting Hsien.

Composition of the Family

From the family records it has been possible to study the relationship between the various members of the family. The relationship given here is that of the individual to the male head of the family, or to the deceased husband of the female head. There were 54 different kinds of relationship listed in the 5,255 families and 39 in the 515 families. They covered a range of seven generations, from grandfather to great-great-grandson. The Chinese list is lengthened by their concise differentiation of relationships: elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, father's younger brother. The same differentiation is applied to aunts, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. The relationships in four groups of families are shown in Table 4.

While the "large family" system, with several generations and coordinate branches of the family living together and pooling their economic resources, has been the typical family system in China, our relationship figures seem to show that there was a tendency and possibly a growing tendency for the brothers to divide the family after their father's death. The Ting Hsien families were generally small. Only 8.7 per cent of the 5,255 families had more than 10 members. Not more than two generations were represented in 51.4 per cent of the 515 families.

The head of a Chinese family is usually the oldest male in the family group. However, it is possible for a father, who wants to retire, to pass the headship to one of his sons. Ordinarily it will go to his eldest son, but, in some instances, personal qualities and the choice of the family will give the leadership to a younger son. In the 5,255 families there were 84 and in the 515 families 23 men whose younger brothers were heads of families. In special family situations the headship may

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 : AF12 North China AF12

to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five: the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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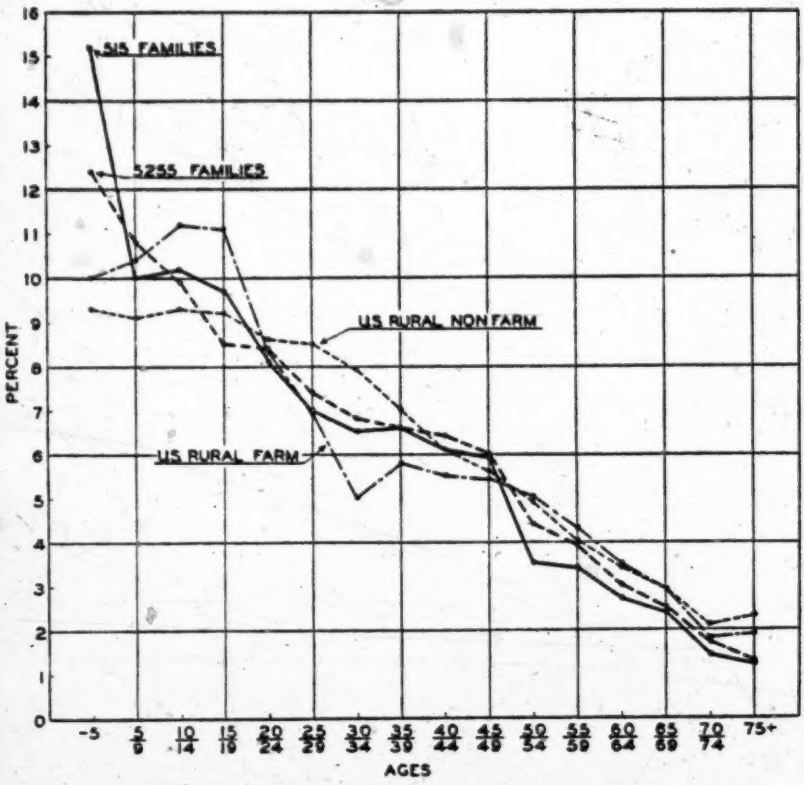

FIGURE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTION, CHINESE AND AMERICAN FAMILIES

In both the 5,255 and the 515 family group 50 per cent of the family members were between 15 and 49 years of age. In Buck's[6] families the proportion was 51 per cent. Under 15 years of age, the figures were: 5,255 families, 33.1 per cent; 515 families, 35.4 per cent; Buck's families, 35.5 per cent. Those 50 years of age and over were 16.8 per cent, 14.6 per cent, and 14.3 per cent.

The similarity of the age distribution in the 5,255 Chinese families and in the population of the United States in 1930[7] is shown by the following figures:

6. Buck, *op. cit.*
7. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. 1930	U.S. 1880	U.S. 1940
Under 35	64.2	66.8	63.1	74	59.4
35–64	30.3	28.2	31.4	23	33.7
65 and over	5.5	5.0	5.5	3	6.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

A slightly different age grouping tells a similar story.

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural Farm	U.S. Rural Non-Farm	U.S.
25 and over	50.0	46.7	44.6	51.2	52.3
50 and over	16.8	14.6	16.3	17.9	17.2
60 and over	8.5	7.7	8.0	9.6	8.5

Considering the high birth and death rates in China and the steady increase in life expectancy in the United States, one would rather expect that the Chinese population would have a considerably larger proportion in the younger years.

The U.S. figures given above show what a large change there has been in the age distribution in 60 years. Except for the fact that both the Chinese and the U.S. population were relatively stable in 1930, it was probably fortuitous that the U.S. age distribution at that time was so similar to that of our Chinese families, but it is interesting that the Chinese figures compared so closely with the U.S. figures for 1930 rather than with those for an earlier period when the United States population was so much more rural and agricultural. The rapid growth of the U.S. population before 1900 would account, in part at least, for the higher proportion under 35 years of age in 1880.

Buck, in his study of Chinese families, reported that he found a possible tendency for the Chinese to give their ages in even rather than odd numbers. For his 2,640 families with 14,952 members, the division was 59.7 per cent in the even years and 40.3 in the odd years, using the Chinese age basis.[8] The preponderance, of course, was in the odd years when the ages were figured by the Western method. The figures were quite consistent in the different ten year age groups. The range in the percentage in the even years was from 53.5 in the 61–70 year group to 63.6 in the group over 80. The males were 60.2 per cent even, the females 58.8.

162 In the 34 families included in our family budget study (see Chapter

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8. Buck, *op. cit.*

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

V) just the opposite was true. In that group of 205 persons 55.1 per cent of the ages were given as odd and 44.9 per cent as even. There was a wide divergence in the figures for the 10 year age groups, from 28.5 per cent odd in the 71–80 year group to 75 per cent odd in the 61–70 year group. These wide differences probably were due to the relatively small numbers in the groups.

In our group of 5,255 families, we found the same tendency as in the 34 families. The division, however, was much more nearly even, but the odd years outnumbered the even by a ratio of 52 to 48. The ratios for the 10 year age groups were close to the average, varying not more than 1.5 per cent above or below the average, except in the over 90 group, where the small number of three individuals made a 67–33 division necessary.

For the females the 10 year age group division range was from 50.7 to 53.4 per cent odd, except in the over 90 year group. For the males the range was from 50 to 54.4 per cent odd.

To allow for the fact that the 10 year age groups all started with an odd year and that the natural decrease tends, therefore, to make the odd numbers larger than the even, we have refigured the odd-even division by 10 year age groups, omitting the one year group. When that was done the total group divided 50.4 per cent odd and 49.6 per cent even. Five of the 10 year age groups were still above 50 per cent odd, but four, the two youngest and the two oldest, had a majority in the even years. This would seem to show that by using the technique of getting the animal of the year in which a person was born we were able to eliminate any tendency there may have been to give ages in either even or odd years.

Age and Sex Distribution

The graphs in Figures 6 and 7 show that while the age distribution of the sexes in the 5,255 Chinese families was fairly similar, there was a definitely larger proportion of females in the higher age groups. The average masculinity rate was 106, but for the five year age groups from five to 44 years the rate was regularly 110 or more. The maximum was 113 in the 15–19 year group. After 45 the rate declined until in the 55–59 year group it was below 100, and the females outnumbered the males. From then on, the preponderance of females increased until in the 80–84 and 85–89 year groups the masculinity rate was only 47. It

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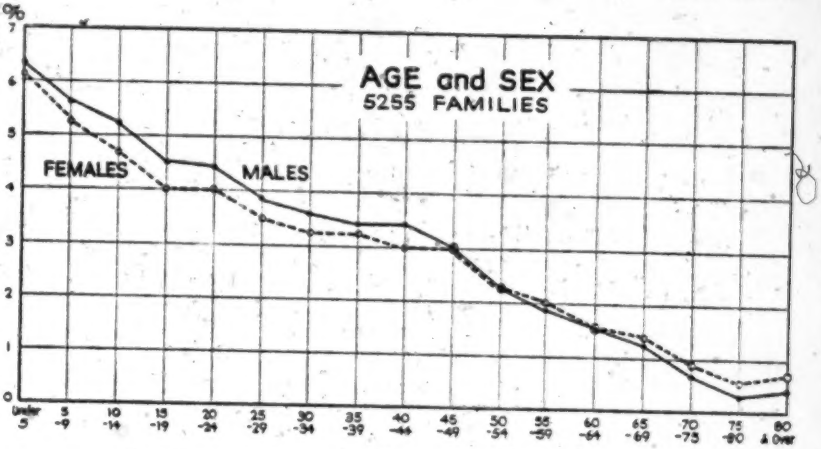

FIGURE 6. AGE AND SEX, 5,255 FAMILIES

was zero for the 90 and over group, in which there were three females but no males. For all of those 50 or over the rate was 92.7.

The greater fluctuation in the masculinity rates for the different age groups in the 515 families probably was due to the smaller number of persons involved. For those 50 and over the rate was 87.1.

In the U.S. rural non-farm families, although the average masculinity rate was 105, slightly less than that of the Chinese families, the females outnumbered the males only in the 15–19, 20–24, 80–84, and 85 and over groups. The maximum rate, 115.1, was in the 45–49 and the 50–54 year age groups, rather than in the 15–19 year group, which had the highest rate for the Chinese families.

In the U.S. rural farm families, where the average masculinity rate was 111, the females outnumbered the males only in the 30–34 and 85 and over groups. The masculinity rate increased group by group from 99.4 in the 30–34 year age group to a maximum of 146.5 in the 70–74 year group. It was 87.5 in the 85 and over group, more than twice the rate for the 5,255 families. From the graphs in Figure 7 it would appear that life on the U.S. farms was especially hazardous for females over 40 while in the older groups in China the hazards of masculinity were much greater than in the United States.

The age distribution of Chinese and U.S. males is shown to be fairly similar by the percentage distribution in the five year age groups. The

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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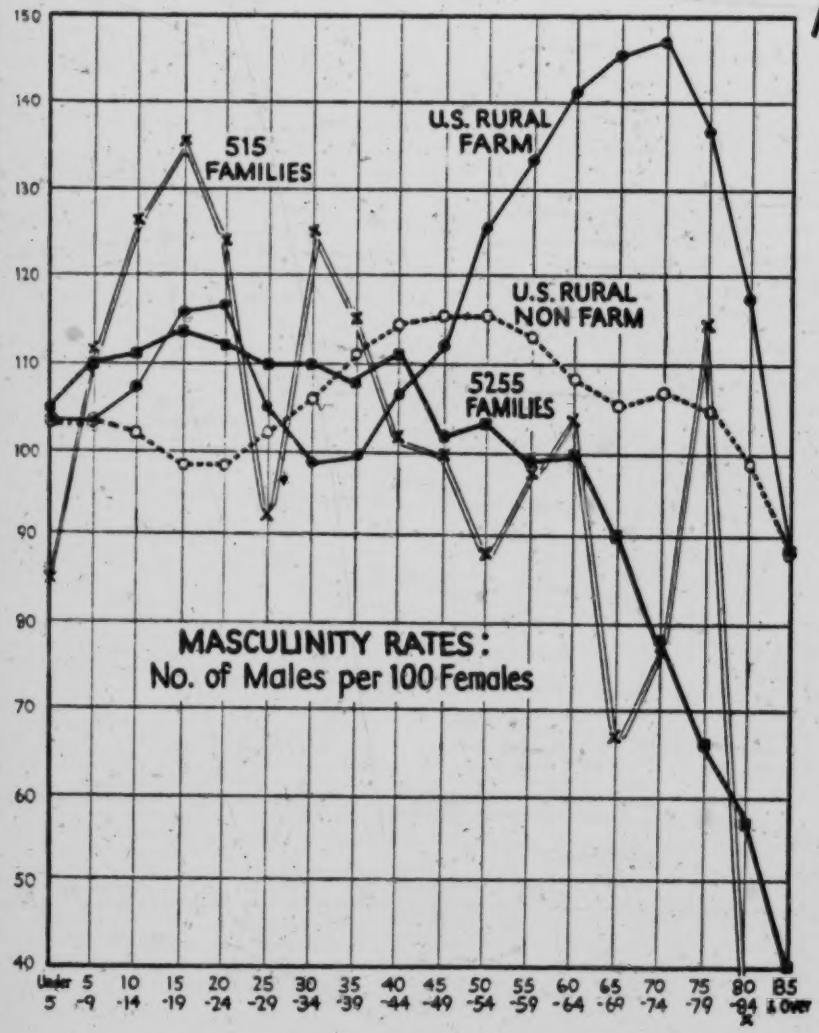

FIGURE 7. MASCULINITY RATES, CHINESE AND AMERICAN FAMILIES

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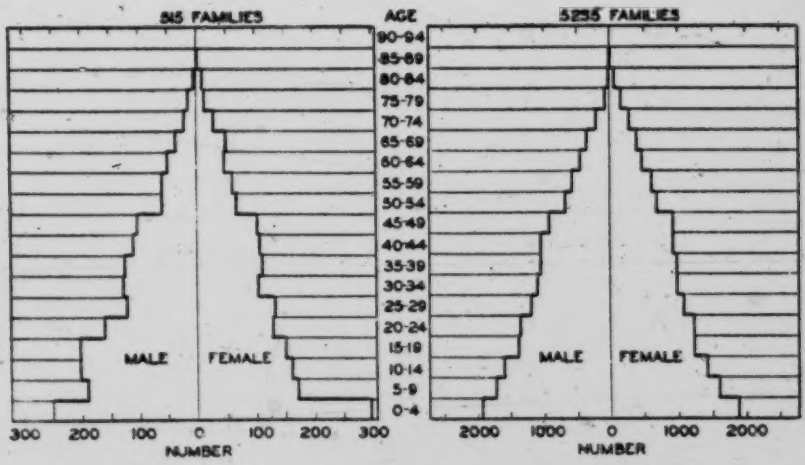

FIGURE 8. AGE AND SEX PYRAMID, 515 AND 5,255 FAMILIES

U.S. figures, however, are smaller below 15 and then larger for almost all the higher age groups.

For the females the U.S. figures were less than the Chinese for the groups under 10 years of age, higher from 15 to 44 and less for the ages 55 and above. Twenty-four per cent of the Chinese women were 45 years of age or older, 22.5 per cent of the U.S. women. The difference is not large, but it is rather surprising to have the figures show a larger proportion of Chinese women in the older age groups. Conditions of life in Ting Hsien would lead one to expect the opposite.

The pyramids in Figure 8 show the age and sex distribution of the 515 and the 5,255 families by five year age groups. As would be expected in an area with high birth and death rates, the pyramids both have a broad base. They both show relatively high death rates in the lower age groups, only slight decreases in the groups from 25 to 49 years of age, and then a sharp reduction in the number in the groups above 49 years of age. The 50 to 54 year age group of the 515 families was born in the years from 1875 to 1879. Those of the 5,255 families were born from 1876 to 1880. Those years included the big famine of 1877 and 1878. The hsien history says that at that time there was nothing growing on the land for thousands of li, that many refugees died along the road and the hungry people even resorted to cannibalism. Such a

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

time would necessarily reduce the birth rate and the number of survivors in the older groups. The difference between the numbers in the 50–54 and the 45–49 year age groups would seem to point to a rapid recovery in the birth rate soon after the famine.

The 1920 famine was shorter than that in 1877 and less severe, and evidently more adequate relief was provided. No sharp drop is shown in the age groups covering that period.

Marital Status

All but 14.4 per cent of the members of the 5,255 families over 14 years of age had been married. Of the males over 14, 21.2 per cent were unmarried but only 6.6 per cent of the females. In the United States 34.1 per cent of the males 15 years of age or over were single and 26.4 per cent of the females.[9] To give the complete picture of the marital condition of the Chinese families it is necessary to go below the usual 15-year limit, as 169 males and 33 females under 15 were married. Two of the 169 males were nine years old, three were 10, and 16 were 11 years old. Twelve was the youngest age at which any girls were married. For the entire group, including all ages, the proportion married was males 53.5 per cent, females 62.7 per cent, total 58 per cent.

In the 515 families 54.6 per cent of the entire group were or had been married. Of the males of all ages, 51.5 per cent were married and 58.5 per cent of the females. The different age distribution of the members of the two groups of families probably accounts for at least part of the difference in the proportions married.

There were 80 widowers in the 515 families, 8.5 per cent of the males who had been married. One hundred and sixty-four men, 17.4 per cent of those who had been married, had lost by death at least one wife. Thirteen had lost two, and two had lost three wives. One hundred and one men had remarried. Eleven had married three times and one was living with his fourth wife.

There were 143 widows listed, 14.1 per cent of the women who had been married. Widows can and do remarry in Ting Hsien. Twenty women were reported as having been married twice. Two of these had lost their second husbands. The total number of women who had been widowed was 161, which was 15.8 per cent of the women who had been married.

9. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

589 The United States census reports widowers as 7.1 per cent of the males and widows as 15.1 per cent of the females who had been married.
162 Seven per cent of the Ting Hsien widows and 17.5 per cent of the widowers were under 30 years of age. Four of the widowers but none of the widows were under 20.

There evidently was a definite relationship between the proportion of males who were widowers and the amount of land owned by their families. While the widowers were 4.3 per cent of the males in the 515 families, they were 5.1 per cent in the families with less than 50 mu, 3.2 per cent in the families with 50 to 99 mu, and 0.8 per cent of the males in the families with 100 or more mu. The one widower in the latter group had lost his wife before he was 15. While a possibly lower female mortality in the wealthier families might account for some of the differences in the percentages, most of the difference appears to be the result of a higher remarriage rate in the families with the larger farms.

For the widows the figures do not show the same sort of variation. They were 9.4 per cent of the females in the families with less than 50 mu, 5.6 per cent in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 7.0 per cent in the 100 mu and over group. For the entire group the figure was 8.2 per cent.

Sixty-one per cent of the men who had lost their first wives had remarried, but only 14 per cent of the women who had lost their first husbands.

595 Twenty-two plural marriages were reported by the 5,255 families and
162 eight by the 515 families. Affecting less than one per cent of the families,
587 concubinage was not a large factor in this rural area. The desire for sons was given as the reason for taking a concubine. As might be expected, the amount of land owned by the family definitely influenced the amount of concubinage. In the 515 families, the rate was one in 18 for the families with over 100 mu, but only one in 183 for the families with less than 50 mu.

586 Two divorces were reported in the 515 families. The field investi-
162 gators reported that, in one family, the difficulty arose over the fact that the bride's family felt that they had been cheated by the marriage middle-man. Even though the groom's family had 35 mu of land and an income of $120 a year from selling bread and other supplementary occupations, her parents felt that his economic status was not what they should have for their daughter. Trouble developed between the families and the couple separated about a year after their marriage.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) AP12 North China AF1

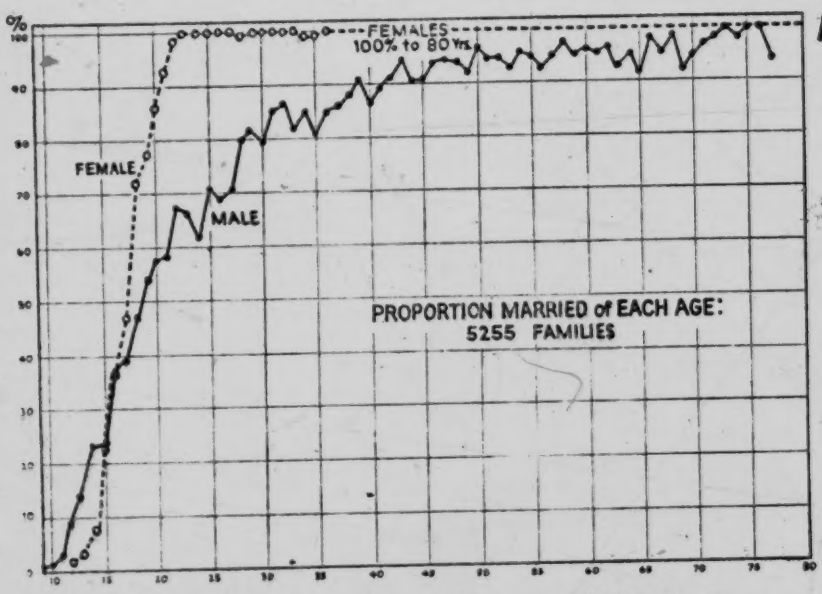

FIGURE 9. AGE AND PROPORTION MARRIED, 5,255 FAMILIES

In the second family the bride did not heed the teachings of her new home. She was flirtatious and quarreled almost constantly with her husband and her mother-in-law. A divorce was finally arranged and she returned to her family. The man remarried in less than a year. The reporter made special note of the fact that the man's second wife had borne him a son.

Age and Marriage

Early and well-nigh universal marriage was very definitely an integral part of the Chinese rural social system. This was particularly true for the women. No unmarried females over 35 years of age were listed in the 5,255 families. There were only three over 22 and only five over 21 years of age. This was only 0.66 per cent of the women over 21. The graph in Figure 9 shows how rapidly the proportion married increased from 1.4 per cent of the 12 year old girls to 100 per cent of those 23 years old. The big jump from 48 per cent for the 17 year old girls to 72 per cent for those 18 years old shows clearly that, as least in that group

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12..

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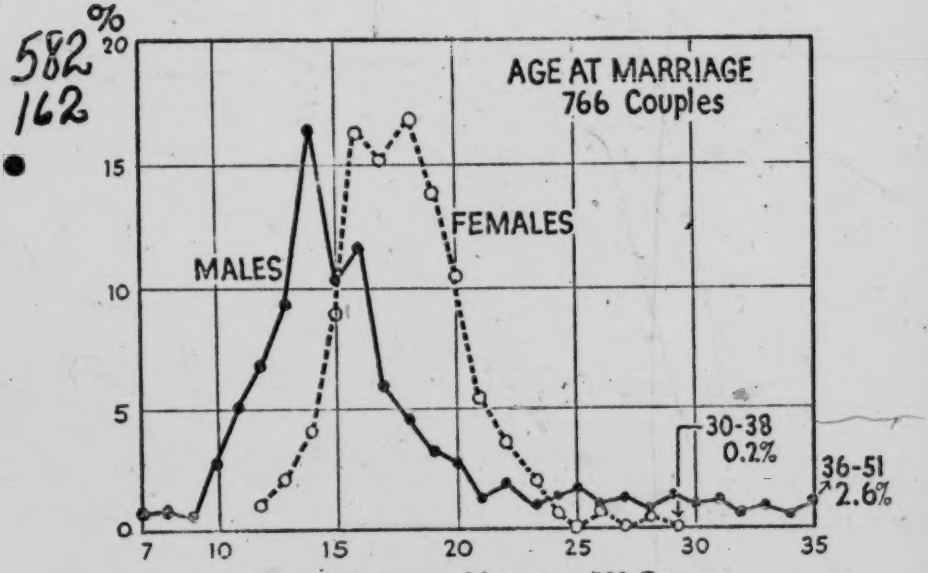

FIGURE 10. AGE AT MARRIAGE, 766 COUPLES

of families, the largest number of girls were married when they were 18.

A large proportion of the boys were married before they were 15, but the males as a group did not marry early as universally as the females. Of those who were over 21 years of age 13.7 per cent were still single. One hundred per cent of the 23 year old females were married, but only 66.3 per cent of the males. Not until they were 39 years of age were 90 per cent of the males married. Above 50 years of age the proportion was generally about 95 per cent married. Only in three years in the seventies were 100 per cent of the males married.

In the United States, 14.3 per cent of the males and 10 per cent of the females between 35 and 44 years of age were single. For those between 55 and 64 the figures were males 10.1 per cent, females 8.9 per cent.[10]

The figures for the 515 families do not give the ages of the married and unmarried, but a special study was made of the "age at marriage" of 766 couples in those families. The group included no second marriages. For the men the age at marriage ranged from seven to 51, for the women from 12 to 38. The average age was men 17.2 and women

10. U.S. Census.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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17.7. Figure 10 shows that the largest number of boys, almost one in six, were married when they were 14 years old. Almost one-half, 47.5 per cent, were married in the four years from 13 through 16, and almost two-fifths, 38.1 per cent, in the three years from 14 through 16. Sixteen per cent were under 13 years of age and just over 10 per cent were over 25.

The largest number of girls, 16.8 per cent, were married when they were 18, the next largest group, 16.1 per cent, when they were 16 years old. The three years from 16 through 18 included 48.2 per cent of the girls. Eight girls were married when they were 12 and 16 when they were 13 years old. Fourteen and one-half per cent were married before they were 16, but only 7.2 per cent when they were over 21 and less than 2 per cent when they were more than 23 years of age.

A very similar story is told by a study made of 1,843 men and 2,059 women living in three market towns. The average age at marriage was the same for the girls, 17.7, but it was 1.5 years higher for the boys, 18.6. Again, the largest number of boys were married at 14 and the largest number of girls at 18. Thirty-four per cent of the boys were married when they were from 13 to 16 years of age and 29.5 per cent in the three years from 14 through 16. The 9.8 per cent who were under 13 were a smaller proportion than in the 515 families. There was a larger proportion in the higher ages, 27.1 per cent in the 17 through 21 group and 17.1 per cent in the over 25 group.

Fifty-eight per cent of the girls were from 16 to 18 years old when they were married. One in eight was married before she was 16, 6.5 per cent after they were 22, but only 2.7 per cent after they had reached 24 years of age.

The influence of the family's economic situation on the age at marriage is very clearly shown when the 766 couples in the 515 families are divided into three groups according to the amount of land owned by their families, under 50 mu, 50–99 mu, and 100 mu and over. Figure 11 shows that in all three groups 14 was the most popular age for the boys and 18 for the girls. However, the average age for the girls marrying into the families with 50 or more mu of land was a full year less than for those marrying into families with less than 50 mu, 16.8 as compared with 17.8. For the boys the difference was much more marked. Their average age at marriage was 18.4 for the families with less than 50 mu. It dropped to 15.6 in the 50 to 99 mu group and to the surprisingly low

2 Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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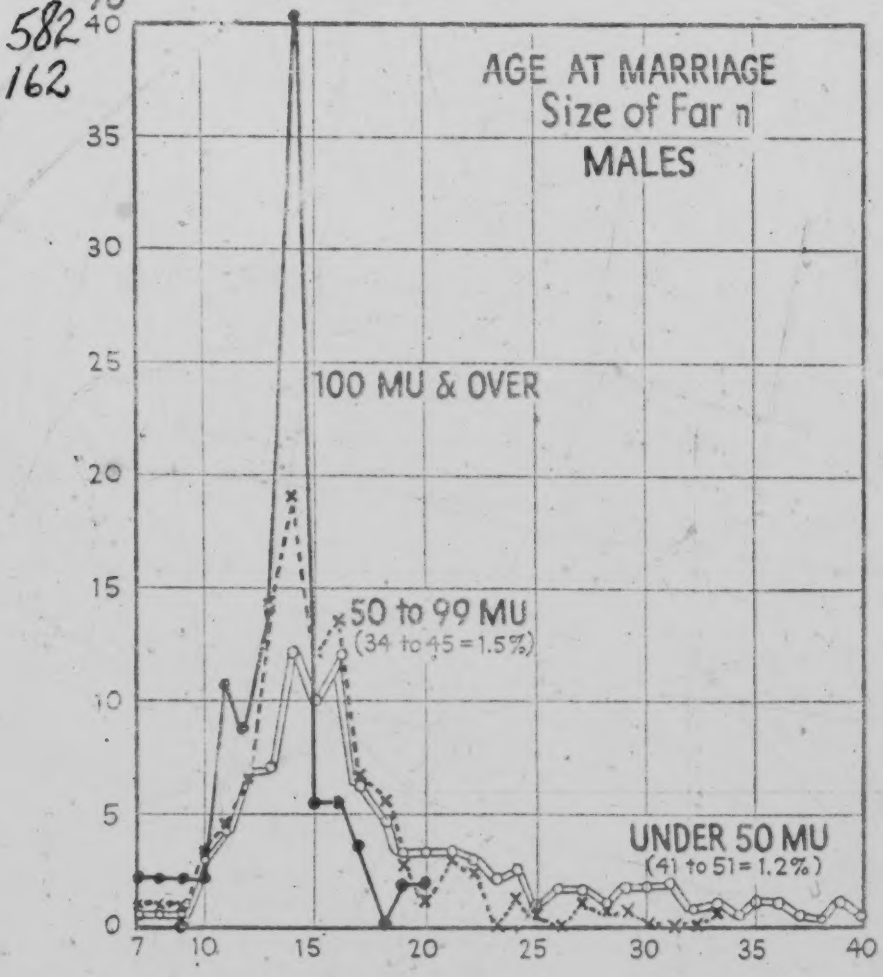

FIGURE 11A. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: MALES

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

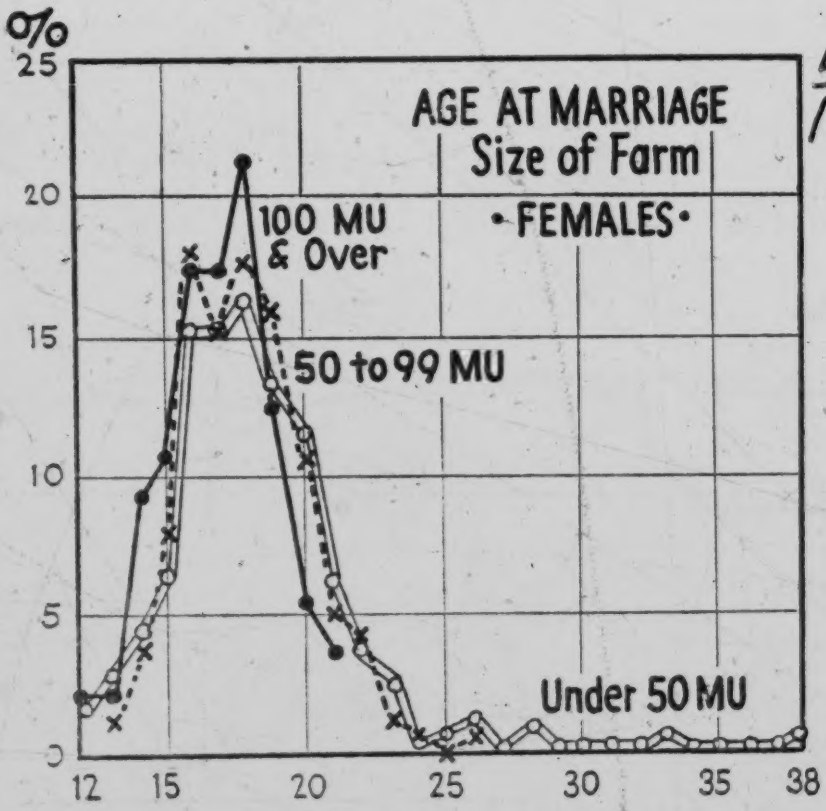

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FIGURE 11B. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM, 766 COUPLES: FEMALES

average of 13.2 ... the families with 100 mu or over. The youngest age at marriage was seven for the males and 12 for the females. The oldest age was 51 for the males and 38 for the females.

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The following figures, giving in summary form the proportions of the males and females in the 766 couples who were married before they had attained given ages, show how the age at marriage varied for the sexes and how it was affected by the economic status of the family. The effect was very striking for the boys, less so, but still very noticeable, for the girls.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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Size of Farm	Under 13	Under 15	Under 18	Over 22	Total No. of Couples
		Males			
Under 50 mu	14.7	33.3	61.0	20.3	490
50–99 mu	15.6	48.9	80.7	5.2	219
100 mu and over	26.3	80.5	94.6	1.8	57
Total	15.8	41.4	69.3	14.6	766
		Females			*16–20*
Under 50 mu	1.4	8.6	44.9	4.8	60.7
50–99 mu	—	4.5	45.1	1.9	76.7
100 mu and over	1.8	12.4	57.8	0.0	73.7
Total	1.0	7.8	46.0	3.7	72.6

The outstanding figures are those showing that while only one-third of the males in the couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land were married before they were 15 years old, the proportion was 80.5 per cent in the families with 100 mu or more. In the latter group 40 per cent of the males were married when they were 14 years of age.

The lower income families often cannot help delaying their son's marriage when faced with the cost of the wedding celebration and the problem of feeding another "mouth." In some of the lower income families in Peking the expenditures for a wedding often amounted to four or five months' income.[11]

It will be noted that nearly three-quarters of the girls were between 16 and 20 years old when they were married. Detailed figures are given in Table 8.

The influence of the family's economic status is also shown in the distribution of the 766 couple study. The average was 1.2 couples in the families with less than 50 mu of land, 2.7 in the 50 to 99 mu group, and 3.2 in the group with 100 mu and over.

582 Groups were working in Ting Hsien to reform the marriage customs. Hence, at the time of our study, the age at marriage probably was higher than it had been some years earlier and it has probably gone up since then. The Customs Improvement Club of Chai Ch'eng attempted to set the minimum age as 20 for boys and 16 for girls.

11. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Ages of Husband and Wife

The age figures of the 766 couples in the 515 families showed that in 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband. In 24.6 per cent the husband was the older. In only 44 couples were the husband and wife the same age. Where the wife was the older, the difference in age ranged from one to 11 years with the largest number two and three years older. In four out of five of those couples the difference was not more than five years. The average difference was 3.8 years.

Where the husband was older the difference in age ranged from one to 28 years. In 31 per cent of these couples the difference was 10 or more years. The average difference was eight years.

For the entire group the wives were, on the average, eight months older than their husbands. The greater number of older wives offset the greater age difference when the husband was the older.

A study of 1,540 couples in three market towns does not tell quite the same story. In that group the division was 48 per cent of the wives older than their husbands and 46.3 per cent of the husbands older than their wives. The average differences in age were almost the same, 7.9 years where the husband was older and 3.9 years where the wife was older. Because of the more even division, the average difference in age for the entire group was the husband 1.8 years older.

A difference in the economic condition of the 515 farm families and the 1,540 market-town families may account for some of the differences in the figures for the two groups. In the families with 100 or more mu the wife, on the average, was 3.6 years older than her husband. In the 50 to 99 mu group, the difference was only a little over one year. In the under 50 mu group the husbands were, on the average, seven months older than their wives. The more well-to-do groups evidently arranged marriage for their sons when they were very young, but they did not ordinarily pick out a very young girl as a daughter-in-law. She would not be physically able to carry the burden of serving her parents-in-law or of child bearing.

In the 515 families there were 97 couples in which one of the partners had been married more than once. Even in this group there were 20 wives who were older than their husbands. The average difference in age was three years. In the 68 couples where the husband was older the average difference in age was 12 years.

2· Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 1. FAMILIES PER VILLAGE

Families	*Villages*	*Per Cent*	*Families*	*Villages*	*Per Cent*
Under 50	90	15.8	300–349	16	3.5
50–99	118	26.1	350–399	10	2.2
100–149	71	15.7	400–499	10	2.2
150–199	60	13.3	500–599	3	0.6
200–249	35	7.7	600 and over	4	0.9
250–299	36	8.0	Total	453	100.0

Minimum 6 Maximum 1,200

TABLE 2. SIZE OF FAMILIES

	5,255 Families		*515 Families*	
	Per Cent of		*Per Cent of*	
Persons	*Families*	*Persons*	*Families*	*Persons*
1–3	24.1	10.0	14.8	5.8
4–6	43.7	36.8	40.4	29.3
7–9	20.6	27.0	25.9	29.5
10–12	7.1	13.2	10.7	16.7
13–15	2.5	5.8	4.4	9.1
16–18	0.8	2.4	2.2	5.2
19–21	0.6	2.1	1.4	3.9
Over 21	0.6	2.7	0.2	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3. SIZE OF FARM AND PERSONS PER FAMILY

Mu	*515 Families*	*Mu*	*400 Families*	*Mu*	*1,220 Families*
1–9	4.7	1–10	3.8	None	4.1
10–29	6.4	11–20	4.8	Under 25	4.7
30–49	7.8	21–30	6.2	25–49	6.7
50–99	10.6	31–40	6.7	50–74	10.6
100 and over	12.9	41–50	8.4	75–99	14.1
Average	6.9	51–100	9.4	100 and over	13.2
		Over 100	13.5	Average	5.2
		Average	6.3		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE 4. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

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Parents:	*3,253 Families*	*515 Families*	*34 Families*	*North China*[1]
Grandfather	•	•	–	–
Grandmother	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.2
Father	0.7	1.2	1.9	0.9
Mother	4.3	3.8	5.3	4.1
Stepmother	•	•	–	–
Mother-in-law	•	–	–	–
Father's brother	0.1	0.1	–	0.1
Father's brother's wife	0.2	0.1	–	0.1
	5.5	5.3	7.7	5.4
Family Head and Descendants:				
Male head	16.5	14.3	16.6	16.9
Female head	0.7	0.2	–	–
Wife	13.1	12.2	14.1	14.3
Concubine	0.1	0.2	–	–
Son	20.7	22.1	25.4	21.1
Son, adopted	0.1	0.1	–	–
Son-in-law	–	•	–	–
Daughter	10.6	11.8	13.7	11.8
Son's wife	7.8	8.0	7.3	8.4
Son's concubine	•	–	–	–
Son's fiancee	•	–	–	–
Grandson	5.9	6.8	2.4	6.4
Granddaughter	4.9	5.9	3.9	4.3
Grandson's wife	0.7	0.8	–	0.2
Great-grandson	0.3	0.3	–	0.1
Great-granddaughter	0.2	0.3	–	–
Great-grandson's wife	•	–	–	–
Great-great-grandson	•	–	–	–
Great-great-granddaughter	•	–	–	–
	81.6	83.0	83.4	83.5
Brothers and Descendants:				
Sister	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.7
Brother	3.8	3.6	5.4	3.3
Wife	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.6
Son	3.0	2.4	–	2.4
Daughter	1.5	1.6	1.0	1.8
Son's wife	0.8	0.9	–	–

(continued on next page)

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

(TABLE 4 CONTINUED)

(Brothers and Descendants:)	5,255 Families	515 Families	34 Families	North China[1]
Grandson	0.5	0.2	–	0.2
Granddaughter	0.3	•	–	0.1
Grandson's wife	•	•	–	–
Great-grandson	•	–	–	–
Great-granddaughter	•	–	–	–
	12.7	11.6	8.9	11.1
Other Relatives:	0.2	0.1		

• Less than 0.1 per cent.

[1] J. Lossing B[illegible]k, *Chinese Farm Economy.*

TABLE 5. MASCULINITY RATES

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural[1] Farm	U.S. Rural[1] Non-Farm
Under 5	104	85	108	103
5–9	110	111	104	103
10–14	111	126	107	102
15–19	113	135	115	98
20–24	112	124	116	98
25–29	110	92	105	102
30–34	110	125	99	106
35–39	108	115	100	111
40–44	111	102	106	114
45–49	102	100	113	115
50–54	103	88	125	115
55–59	99	98	134	113
60–64	100	104	141	109
65–69	90	67	145	106
70–74	78	78	147	107
75–79	66	114	137	105
80–84	47	56	117	99
85 and over	40	0	88	88
Average	106	106	111	105

[1] U.S. Census.

2· Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 6. AGE AND SEX
(per cent in five-year age groups)

Age	5,255 Families			513 Families			North China[1]	U.S.[2]
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total
Under 5	12.4	12.3	12.5	15.2	13.6	17.0	12.5	9.3
5–9	10.8	11.0	10.7	10.0	10.3	9.7	11.5	10.3
10–14	9.9	10.1	9.6	10.2	11.1	9.3	10.5	9.8
15–19	8.5	8.8	8.2	9.8	11.0	8.6	10.3	9.4
20–24	8.4	8.6	8.2	8.1	8.7	7.4	7.4	8.9
25–29	7.4	7.5	7.2	7.0	6.5	7.5	6.5	8.0
30–34	6.8	6.9	6.7	6.5	7.0	5.9	6.9	7.4
35–39	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.6	6.8	6.3	7.3	7.5
40–44	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.1	6.0	6.2	5.9	6.5
45–49	6.0	5.9	6.2	5.9	5.7	6.0	4.9	5.7
50–54	4.4	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.2	3.9	4.7	4.9
55–59	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.4	3.3	3.5	4.2	3.8
60–64	3.0	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	3.1
65–69	2.5	2.3	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.9	1.6	2.3
70–74	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.6	0.9	1.6
75–79	0.8	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.9
80–84	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.4
85 and over	0.1	0.1	0.1	–	–	–	0.1	0.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total persons		15,780	14,862		1,835	1,736		

[1] J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*. [2] U.S. Census, 1930.

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TABLE 7. AGE AT MARRIAGE

Age	513 Families, 766 Couples		3 Market Towns, 1,843 / 2,059	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Under 10	1.3	–	0.7	–
10	2.8	–	1.1	–
11	5.0	–	3.1	–
12	6.7	1.0	5.0	0.8
13	9.4	2.1	4.9	1.8
14	16.2	4.6	11.9	4.9
15	10.2	6.9	6.7	5.0
16	11.8	16.1	10.8	23.3
17	5.9	15.3	7.0	10.0
18	4.7	16.8	6.4	24.5

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2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 NORTH CHINA AF12

(TABLE 7 CONTINUED)

	515 Families 766 Couples		3 Market Towns 1,843	2,059
Age	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
19	3.1	13.8	6.0	7.2
20	2.6	10.6	4.7	11.6
21	3.0	5.6	3.7	4.4
22	2.7	3.5	2.9	2.6
23–25	3.9	2.4	7.9	2.3
26–28	2.9	1.1	6.7	0.8
29–31	3.4	–	4.3	0.5
32–34	1.0	0.1	2.4	0.2
35 and over	3.4	0.1	3.8	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8. AGE AT MARRIAGE AND SIZE OF FAMILY FARM
(766 couples in 515 families)

	Under 50 Mu		*50–99 Mu*		*100 Mu and over*	
Age	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Under 10	0.8	–	1.4	–	5.3	–
10	2.9	–	3.2	–	1.8	–
11	4.5	–	4.6	–	10.4	–
12	6.5	1.4	6.4	–	8.8	1.8
13	6.7	2.7	14.1	0.9	14.0	1.8
14	12.0	4.5	19.2	3.6	40.2	8.8
15	10.0	6.1	11.8	7.8	5.3	10.4
16	11.7	15.1	13.6	17.8	5.3	17.5
17	5.9	15.1	6.4	15.0	3.5	17.5
18	4.9	16.1	5.5	17.4	–	21.1
19	3.5	13.1	2.7	16.0	1.8	12.3
20	3.5	11.3	0.9	10.5	1.8	5.3
21	3.5	6.1	2.7	5.0	–	3.5
22	3.3	3.7	2.3	4.1	–	–
23–25	5.2	3.0	1.4	1.4	1.8	–
26–28	3.9	1.4	1.4	0.5	–	–
29–31	5.0	–	0.5	–	–	–
32–34	1.4	0.2	0.5	–	–	–
35 and over	4.8	0.2	1.4	–	–	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Couples	490		219		57	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

Size of Family

The 400 families included a total of 2,536 persons, an average of 6.3 persons per family. The total, however, included 64 year-round workers who lived with the families. If they are omitted, the size of the average family was 6.2. How the average size of the family increased as the size of the farm increased, from 3.8 persons for the families with 10 mu or less to 6.7 persons for those in the 31–40 mu group and 13.5 persons for those with over 100 mu, is shown in Table 17. If the 64 full-time workers are omitted, the average family was 8.2 for the 41–50 mu group, 8.8 for the 51–100 mu group, and 11.8 for the over 100 mu group. These were the only groups with enough full-time workers to affect the size of the average family. Ordinarily, we have not omitted the full-time workers as they were given their board by their employers and so were part of the family "mouths".

In other studies of Chinese families, we have regularly found that as the amount of the family income increased the average size of the family increased. In this study increased size of farm holding usually indicates increased family income. From the figures, it appears that there was a tendency for the average size of the family to increase some 35 per cent with a 100 per cent increase in the size of the farm.

The amount of land farmed by the family also appears to have a definite influence on both the number and the proportion of children in the family. The average number of children from one to 10 years of age, Chinese count, increased from 0.6 per family for the 1–10 mu group to 3.2 for the over 100 mu group. The proportion of children was 15 per cent in the families with 30 mu or less, but it was 24 per cent for the families with more than 100 mu.

The population density was 785 persons per square mile of crop area. It was about 650 per square mile if an average area for the home sites in the villages is added to the cultivated area and an allowance made for graves, roads, and wasteland.

For the 400 families the average amount of land per person was 4.8 mu, 0.8 of an acre. For the 1–10 mu group, the average was less than one-third of an acre per person. Table 17 shows how the amount increased as the size of the farm increased until the average for the over 100 mu group was five times the average for the 1–10 mu group.

The 2,536 members listed by the 400 families were divided 1,348

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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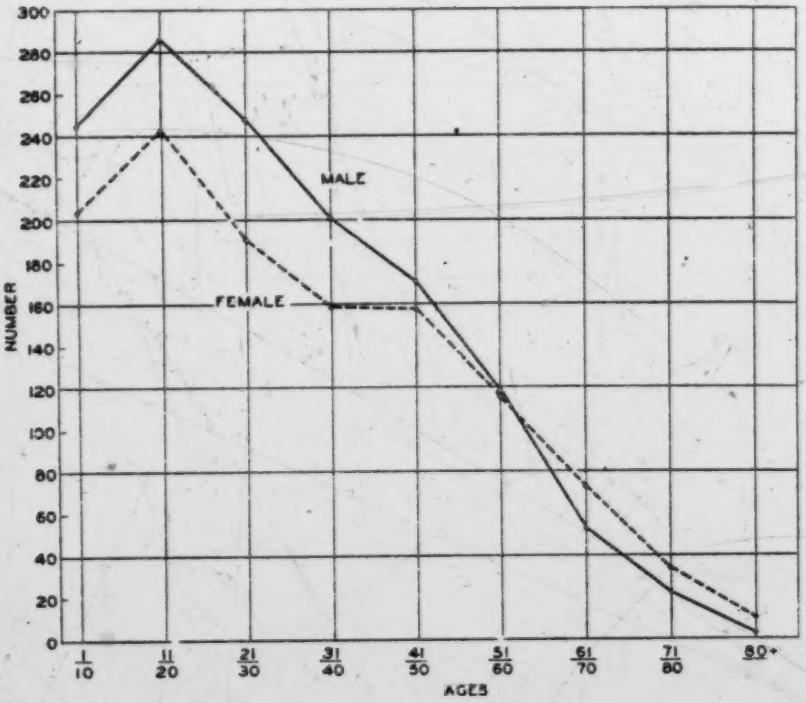

FIGURE 13. AGE AND SEX, 400 FAMILIES

males and 1,188 females, or 53.2 per cent male. If the 64 year round farm workers are subtracted from the number of males, the families were 52 per cent male, a masculinity rate of 108. This is slightly higher than the figures for our 515 and 5,255 family groups, and practically the same as for the rural population of the United States, but less than the 111 rate of the United States rural farm population.[2]

The age and sex distribution of all the families is shown by 10-year age groups in Figure 13 and Table 18. The ages are given according to the Chinese count, whereby a child is one year old when born and two years old at the next Chinese New Year. It is particularly noticeable that in this group of families the number of both males and females was larger in the 11–20 year age group than in the 1–10 year group and that

2. U.S. Census.

2. Gamble S-5 (1929-1933) 1954 AF12 N. and China AF12

162 there were more males in the 21–30 year group than in the 1–10 year group. We cannot determine whether this unusually large proportion in the 11–20 year group was the result of an incomplete report or represented an unusual age distribution in these families. Part of the difference, undoubtedly, is due to the fact that the 1–10 year group, Chinese count, covers an average of only nine and one-half instead of ten years. Our 5,255 and 575 family groups did not show the same unusual age distribution.

It will be noted that 54.3 per cent of those over 50 years of age were females. The females outnumbered the males in all the groups over 60 years of age and as there were only three more males than females in the 51–60 group, the females probably outnumbered the males after the age of 55.

The field reports listed 457 males and 44 females as "able to recognize characters". Thirty-four per cent of the males, but only 3.7 per cent of the females, had had some education. For the entire group, the proportion was 19.8 per cent. It was 24 per cent of those over 10 years of age.

Farm Capital

471 The capital value of the farm property owned by the 400 families, including land, houses, implements, animals, trees, seed, and fodder, totaled $1,020,900, an average of $2,552 per farm. For the owners, the average was $3,320. It was $1,538 for the part-owners, but only $152 for the tenants. (See Table 19.) The difference in these figures is largely due, of course, to the fact that the tenants included nothing for land owned and the part-owners included the value of only two-thirds of the land they used. Land value represented 82 per cent of the total reported capital. If the land is omitted, the average capital amounts were owners $569, part-owners $306, and tenants $152.

The larger size of the farms of the owners and part-owners was partly responsible for the difference in these figures, as our study showed that the amount of capital, other than land, was generally related to the size of the farms, though the owners' figures were usually larger than the part-owners', and the part-owners' larger than the tenants'. The averages per mu for the three ownership groups were owners $16.00, part-owners $12.20, and tenants $10.65. In all three groups, the highest amount per mu was in the 1–10 mu group, largely because of a high per mu value of the houses. If both house and land are omitted, the capital

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 16. SIZE OF FARMS

Mu	Number[1] O	Number[1] PO	Number[1] T	Crop Area[1] O	Crop Area[1] PO	Crop Area[1] T	Per Cent of Total Number	Per Cent of Total Area
10 and under	37	8	11	249	62	74	14	3
11–20	61	56	7	920	862	105	31	15
21–30	45	37	1	1,178	925	25	21	17
31–40	25	11	1	875	372	36	9	10
41–50	18	12	–	800	532	–	7	11
51–100	43	11	1	2,801	657	60	14	29
Over 100	15	–	–	1,844	–	–	4	15
	244	135	21	8,667	3,410	300	100	100

[1] O = owner; PO = part owner; T = tenant.

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TABLE 17. SIZE OF FARM AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Size of Farm (mu)	Average Mu	Size of Family	Children 1–10 Years	Mu per Person
1–10	6.9	3.8	0.6	1.8
11–20	15.2	4.8	0.8	3.2
21–30	25.6	6.2	0.9	4.1
31–40	34.7	6.7	1.3	5.2
41–50	44.4	8.4	1.4	5.3
51–100	64.0	9.4	1.9	6.8
Over 100	123.0	13.5	3.2	9.1
Average	30.9	6.3	1.1	4.8
Owners	35.5	6.8	1.3	5.2
Part-owners	25.3	6.0	0.9	4.2
Tenants	14.3	4.1	0.6	3.5

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE 18. AGE AND SEX

Age[1]	Males	Females	Total	Per Cent	Average Family[2]
10 and under	245	204	449	17.7	1.1
11–20	286	243	529	20.8	1.3
21–30	248	191	439	17.3	1.1
31–40	201	159	360	14.2	0.9
41–50	171	158	329	13.0	0.8
51–60	119	116	235	9.3	0.6
61–70	53	73	126	5.0	0.3
71–80	22	34	56	2.2	0.2
Over 80	3	10	13	0.5	–
	1,348	1,188	2,536	100.0	6.3

[1] Chinese age.
[2] 64 year-round workers included.

TABLE 19. VALUE OF CAPITAL ASSETS

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	Owner				Part-owner	Tenant
	1–10 Mu	21–30 Mu	Over 100 Mu	Average	Average	Average
Land	$464	$2,002	$9,821	$2,751	$1,232	–
House	111	216	1,200	345	191	$109
Implements	9	40	119	46	31	15
Animals	8	42	238	61	37	21
Trees	21	101	404	102	57	5
Seeds	1	8	38	10	7	2
Fodder	–	4	22	5	3	–
	$614	$2,413	$11,842	$3,320	$1,558	$152
Average value per mu of land owned				$77.50	$73.95	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

Home Industry Families

IN ORDER to round out our study of village home industry (see Chapter XV) and secure more complete and detailed figures than was possible in our hsien wide survey, a family by family study was made, in 1932, of six neighboring villages in the 6th District north of the T'ang River. Their location is shown on the hsien map on page 5.[1] The villages varied in size from 120 to 1,100 families. The total in the six villages was 2,260. Seventeen hundred and forty families, 77 per cent, reported some home industry. In the individual villages the proportion varied from 70 to 96 per cent.

The number of persons in the 2,260 families was 12,655, an average of 5.6 persons per family. In the individual villages the average number of persons per family varied from 4.5 to 6.9. In the 5,255 families in the 1st District the average family had 5.8 persons.

The six villages had a total of 30,521 mu of farm land, an average of 13.5 mu (2.25 acres) per family and 2.4 mu (0.4 acres) per person.[1] This was only two-thirds of the hsien average. In the individual villages the average amount of land per person ranged from 1.1 to 5.3 mu. The largest village had the smallest amount of land per family, 9.5 mu. The smallest village had the largest average per family, 27.5 mu.

Besides having the smallest amount of land per family, the largest village also had the smallest proportion of families engaged in home industry, 70 per cent. The home industry families, however, compensated, at least in part, for their smaller farm income by more industrial work. The average time they worked during the year was over 50 per cent more than the average of the next most active village and more than twice the average of the village with the least industrial activity.

It had been our original intention to study all of the home industry

1. It was reported (1950) that the Central People's Government land program allowed a family to hold 2.5 mu per person.

1 [See Cat. 116, p. 5 -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

Age at Marriage

Fourteen and 16 were the ages when the largest number of boys were married. Sixteen and 18 were the most popular ages for the girls. Some boys were married when they were only seven years old. Twelve was the youngest age for the girls. About 1.5 per cent of the women were over 25 when they married. Occasionally one was over 30, but in our study of 5,255 families there were only three unmarried females over 22 years of age. About one per cent of the men were over 40 when they married.

The average age at marriage, in two groups of families, was 17.2 and 18.7 for the males and 17.7 for both groups of females.

The size of the family income had a great influence on the age at which the sons were married. In a group of families with less than 50 mu of land, the average age of the husbands, at marriage, was 18.4 years. One-third were married before they were 15 years old. In the families with 100 mu or more the average age was only 13.2 years and 80.8 per cent were married before they were 15. There was not nearly as much difference for the girls. The average age for the poorer group was 17.8 years. It was 16.8 for the wealthier group. The figures are given in more detail in Chapter II.

Because so many more of the boys were married before they were 16 years old, it was natural that we should find a large proportion, 69.7 per cent, of the wives older than their husbands, in one instance as much as 11 years older. The husband was the older in 24.6 per cent of the couples. In those couples the maximum difference was 28 years. It was as much as 10 years for 6.1 per cent of the couples.

The average age at marriage appeared to be rising at the time of our study. Longer and more general school attendance, the efforts of reform groups, and outside ideas, were some of the influences helping to reduce the number of early marriages. One group was attempting to make 20 the minimum age for boys and 16 the minimum for girls.

Marriage after Death

Sometimes when a mature unmarried boy died his family would get a match-maker to arrange a wedding between the boy and a girl

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

ever, the economic life of the market area is self-sufficient. The limited excess products of the villages in the district supply goods for the needs of the area.

In these market towns there are small "Chambers of Commerce" of modern origin (*Shang Hui*) that have to do with making the regulations for marketing goods on the given days and also with regulating the stores and shops that grow up in the market town itself. It was found that in the above-mentioned village of Yen Chiu certain government taxes, such as the wine and tobacco taxes, were collected by the Chamber of Commerce.

THE TOWN

The Chinese walled towns or cities are merely outgrowths of the market towns or enlarged trading centers, many of which have prestige because they have become the political center of the county or of a larger area and are the headquarters of the local prefect.[1]

The guilds of the type described in this paper are, so far as has been discovered, confined to the towns and cities. It must not be forgotten, however, that the apprentices in these guilds come largely from the country and bring with them the clan and village background above described. The walled towns, moreover, are still the centers for the markets for the surrounding rural areas, which are held on fixed days in each month.

The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists 36 cities with a population each of 1,000,000. There are some 1,500 cities in China with a total of about 75,000,000 inhabitants.[2] Most of the city population is engaged in industrial, commercial or political activities.

[1] *Cf.* Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today* (New York, 1923), and Tao and Leong, *Village and Town Life in China* (London, 1915).

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

in the guilds in Peking. The problem is a similar one although the government agencies now dealing with the guilds are more complicated.

Peking had in 1919 a population of 811,556,[1] of which an unusually large proportion were males — 63.5 per cent.[2] The reason for this undue proportion is the very large number of officials living in Peking without their families and the army of expectant officials awaiting appointment, and also the large male student population. In 1919 there were 16,879 students in modern-style high schools and colleges. The number has greatly increased since then. The large number of men and boys in shops and stores who have come in from the country, away from their families, is another factor.

Because Peking is a city with such a high percentage of officials and students, one looks in vain for any considerable body of local gentry. The official group comes from every province and practically from every city in China, and the students come from a similarly wide area. One would naturally suppose that the guilds in Peking would be less affected by the pressure of public opinion than would those in other cities, for there is little unity in the conglomerate group of temporary residents that make up the official and student ranks.

Modern industry has affected Peking very little indeed.

Other cities in China point with pride to the modern factories which they have established, but Peking has little industry that is efficient and on a modern basis. The city has long been a political rather than an industrial center, and the local octroi charges have tended to discourage the establishment of modern factories inside the walls. The principal examples of modern industry are the telephone company, the electric light company,

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WORKING FAMILIES

LOCATION OF THE FAMILIES

The working families under investigation lived in the east side of Peking, distributed in four Police districts as follows: 361

Outer Left III Ward	15
Outer Left IV Ward	5
Outer Left V Ward	4
Inner Left IV. Ward	24
Total	48

It is indeed true that Peking has not yet developed its slums, nor has it presented such glaring contrasts of wealthy and poor districts as most modern cities, yet there is the unmistakable sign that Peking, too, is tending to conform to the pattern of the modern city. People of poorer classes are gradually driven to the outskirts of the city, back streets around busy districts or sections where dilapidated houses abound. Thus, the families under investigation seemed to cluster around two centres. Families of the Outer Left Wards live around a market centre, known as "Flower Market" which has derived its name from the fact that artificial flowers are the most important articles sold there. Those of the Inner Left Ward were close to the residential quarter of respectable families on the one side and the east city wall on the other. People of this district are squeezed in between respectability and the dead wall and there is every likelihood that if the former continues to grow and expand and the latter will not tumble down, they will soon be expelled to the outskirts beyond the city-wall, as a great number of them have already done so.

RACE AND NATIVITY

The racial stock of the forty-eight families was distributed in the following manner. 162

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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Race	Number of Families	Per cent
Chinese	25	52
Manchus...	12	25
Mohammedans	11	23
Total	48	100

It will be seen that Chinese predominated, being more than one half of the families under investigation. Though China claims to include five different races, yet as far as the inhabitants in China Proper are concerned, their difference is by no means so significant as is generally supposed. Both Manchus and Mohammedans, as is well-known, have acquired the Chinese mode of life after they migrated and made their home in the midst of the Chinese. While one may detect a southern Chinese on a Peking street from the dialect he speaks, none, however, can tell a Peking Manchu from a Peking Chinese, or a Peking Mohammedan from either, the difference of their habits of life, whatever they are, having become unnoticeable. Consequently, the racial factor in an inquiry like this can hardly be said to be of much import.

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It has however been constantly urged that the three racial stocks under consideration have different social habits, thus affecting their standard of living. Chinese, it is claimed, are generally more industrious, being able to stand heavy work and poorer kinds of food, while Manchus, being used to receive pensions from the government under the Manchu regime and consequently to an easy and comfortable life, are, as a rule, less energetic and less frugal than Chinese. Mohammedans, however, are also handicapped, because they are circumscribed by religious customs and are unable to compete with their Chinese neighbours. These observations are no doubt interesting, though it should be borne in mind that these characteristics can scarcely be considered as racial or biological and that they hold true, if at all, only in a very general way. In fact, difference in

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

social habits which prevails in different families is just as great as, if not greater than, those in different racial stocks.

Compared with the estimates made by Mr. Gamble,[1] the race distribution of the 48 families under investigation can hardly claim to be typical of Peking as a whole. For the present study, however, there is no reason why the racial aspect should be emphasized upon, since the racial origin has practically ceased to be a determining factor of the family life, at any rate in Peking, and the general conditions of living have also tended to be more and more equalized, regardless of race, among the class of people under investigation. The racial origin of the various families is, therefore, given merely to present facts as they are without attempting to draw any inference from them.

From the birth-places of the elder members of the forty-eight families, one finds that the families were predominantly of Peking. The following table shows the native origin of all the elder members.

Birth-place	Heads of Families	Wives	Fathers	Mothers
Peking	43	41	41	42
Other than Peking ...	4	6	6	5
Total	47	47	47	47

Of the forty-eight families, the head of one family was dead while that of another was still unmarried, hence both the heads of families and the wives were reduced to 47.

SIZE AND MEMBER RELATIONSHIP

During the six months of the inquiry, there occurred five births and two deaths in the families; of the latter one was under two years, while the other was under seven. In computing the

[1] "In general, the population of the city is probably divided somewhat as follows: Chinese 70-75%, Manchu 20-25%, Mohammedan 3%, Mongol 1-2%, Others 0.5%." See S. D. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, New York 1921, p. 99.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION

1. Quantity and Density.

The total population of Ching Ho is approximately 2437. There are 613 in the stores, 38 in public and semi-public organisations, and 1819 in families-a total of 2470. The difference of the counted total with the real total is accounted for by the fact that some of the people in the stores and public services belong to families in Ching Ho, and they have been counted both in the canvas of the storee and services, and also in the house-to-house canvas. Therefore, it is necessary for us to deduct these people from the counted total. As far as we can ascertain there are 33 persons who have families living in Ching Ho and have been counted twice, so that this leaves a net total of 2437.

The total of 2437 does not only include those who live for most of the year in the community, but also includes a few others who while not actually living there do belong to the community. The family heads or sons who are working or studying away from home, but whose family or property are still in the district are often considered as members of the family, and hence of the community. There are 90 people who live outside of the town for the greater part of the year-77 males and 13 females. This points to the fact that the female members of the family are not so

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

accustomed to going outside the town for work as the men. In China industry and trade are still monopolised almost entirely by men[1], and this brings into consideration many factors in the study of sex composition in the town and in the country, a detailed discussion of which will be presented in the next chapter.

In trying to ascertain the density of the population, or number of people per square mile, we have found some difficulty in finding the exact area of the town. There is no map, or official measurements or statement, and it is difficult to get any person to assist in this direction. Accord to our measurement the distance from north to south is 2650 Chinese feet, and the distance from east to west after the necessary adjustments have been made for the irregular shape is 850 Chinese feet. The total area will then be 2,252,500 square feet according to the Chinese system. As 25,360,000 square feet according to Chinese measurement is equivalent to one square mile, we have in Ching Ho an area of 0.089 square miles. With 2,437 people in 0.089 square miles, the population density of Ching Ho should be 27,000 persons per square mile.

2. Sex Composition.

China is predominantly a man's country, not only in the administration of the law and in work, but also in the composition of its population. In the twelve big cities of China we have the high percentage of 61% males as compared with 39% females, But this is chiefly owing to the fact that in the big cities

1. Except in port cities.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

positions are usually open to men only. Since the surveys of our big cities show that we have a high proportion of males we naturally expect that the percentage of females in the country should be greater than the percentage of males. This hypothesis does not receive support from the data which is already in existence and from our findings in Ching Ho. In the country area of Shanghai the sex composition is 50.2 male to 49.8 female; in the country districts of Kuan Shan (崑山) the proportion is 51 male to 49 female; and the ratio given by Kulp in a village in Kwuntung is 52 male to 48 female. In Ching Ho the actual composition is as follows :—

TABLE I SEX COMPOSITION.

Types of Population.	Total		Male		Female.	
	No.	°/₀	No.	°/₀	No.	°/₀
Stores	613	100.0	556	90.7	57	9.3
Familes	1,819	100.0	955	52.5	864	47.5
Public services.	38	100.0	38	100.0	0	0
Total	2,470		1549		921	
Less duplicates	33		33		0	
Total	2,437	100.0	1,516	62.2	921	37.8

If we use the female figure as a basis at 100 we have the ratio as follows :—

6:Youn et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE II

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Types of Population	No. of males	No. of females.	Females as 100.
Stores	556	57	975
Families	955	864	111
Public Services.	38		0
Total (Less duplicates)	1,516	921	165

It is, of course, expected that there will be a larger percentage of men than women employed in the stores and public organisations. The family stores where we have female members are few in number as compared with the general type of store which does not employ female labour. This higher percentage of men in the stores and public organisation has a large influence on the final figures, and accounts in a great measure for the higher ratio of males—165 males to 100 females.

At first it is difficult to understand why the families should have a larger percentage of males than females, but closer examination revealed the fact that many of the males in stores and public organization had been counted twice. 77 males working outside the town had been counted in the town, and would be again connted in the place where they were working, whereas there were only 13 females working outside who might be counted twice. There were 24 people working in Ching Ho stores who had

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

already been counted in the store canvas, and nine in the public services. If we count these people where they work and live we find a total of 843 males to 851 females. Thus the actual ratiothat is the actual ratio between the males and females who actually live and work in the family-shows that there are more females than males. The exact frgures are as follows :— 162

TABLE III THE ACTUAL SEX COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN FAMILIES.

Working places.	Total No.	Total %	Male No.	Male %	Female No.	Female %	Female as 100.
In the family	1,694	100.0	843	49.8	851	50.2	99
Outside town	92		79		13		
In stores	24		24		0		
In public services.	9		9		0		
Total	1,819		955	52.5	864	47.5	111

If we take the family population in the southern section of the town the proportions are even more interesting. As we shall find in our study of the stores most of these are in the northern section of the town, and therefore, people in the northern section naturally have more chances of working in the stores, and are less likely to go to other places to earn their living. So we find that there are 54 persons or 73% from the southern section who go outside

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 the town to seek work, and there are only 38 or 35% from the northern section. This factor has a distinct influence on the sex distribution figures for the southern section where we find the female population much higher than the male :—

TABLE IV THE ACTUAL SEX COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN FAMILIES IN THE SOUTHER SECYION.

Working Places	Total		Male		Femole		Female as 100.
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	Nc.	°/o	
Inside town	688	100.0	329	47.8	359	02.2	97
Outside town.	54		49		5		
Total	742		378	50.9	364	49.1	104

3. Age Composition

The fact that in most cases trade, industry, and public services only employ male workers results in a higher male population in cities, and probably a higher female population in the country districts, a state which is exactly opposite to that existing in the United States. But when we come to the question of age composition there is no such contrast because, like America, we prefer to employ the middle-aged, rather than old people or children; so that in this case the conclusions are about the same between the two countries, that is that we have more middle aged people in the stores and fewer in the families. The respective figures and percentages are presented in the following two tables :—

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE V. AGE COMPOSIVION OF FAMILY POPULATION.

Age Groups.	Total		Male.		Female	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
0-4	206	11.3	121	12.7	85	9.8
6-9	184	10.1	108	11.3	76	8.8
10-14	138	7.6	75	7.9	63	7.3
15-19	177	9.7	98	10.3	79	9.2
20-24	135	7.4	71	7.4	64	7.4
25-29	156	8.6	91	9.5	65	7.5
30-34	142	7.8	77	8.1	65	7.5
35-39	140	7.7	70	7.3	70	8.1
40-44	101	5.6	52	5.5	49	5.7
45-49	102	5.6	51	5.3	51	5.9
50-54	77	4.2	32	3.4	45	5.2
55-59	96	5.3	39	4.1	57	6.6
60-64	69	3.8	29	3.0	40	4.6
65-69	50	2.8	24	2.5	26	3.0
70-74	22	1.2	10	1.0	12	1.4
75-79	14	0.8	4	0.4	10	1.2
80-	8	0.4	2	0.2	6	0.7
Total	1817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0
Unknown	2		1		1	

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE VI. AGE COMPOSITION OF STORE POPULATION.

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Age Groups.	Total		Male.		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-4	16	2.6	7	1.3	9	16.4
5-9	8	1.3	4	.7	4	7.3
10-15	29	4.7	26	4.7	3	5.5
15-10	107	17.1	103	18.6	4	7.3
20-24	79	14.7	74	13.3	5	9.1
25-29	73	11.7	68	12.3	5	9.1
30-34	63	10.1	58	10.5	5	9.1
35-39	60	9.6	56	10.1	4	7.3
40-44	59	9.5	53	9.6	6	10.9
45-49	36	5.7	34	6.1	2	3.6
50-54	28	4.5	26	4.7	2	3.6
55-59	21	3.4	18	3.2	3	5.5
60-64	20	3.1	17	3.1	3	5.5
64-69	8	1.3	8	1.4	-	-
70-74	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
75-79	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
80-	1	0.2	1	0.2	-	-
Total	610	100.0	555	100.0	55	100.0
Children Age unknown	3		1		2	

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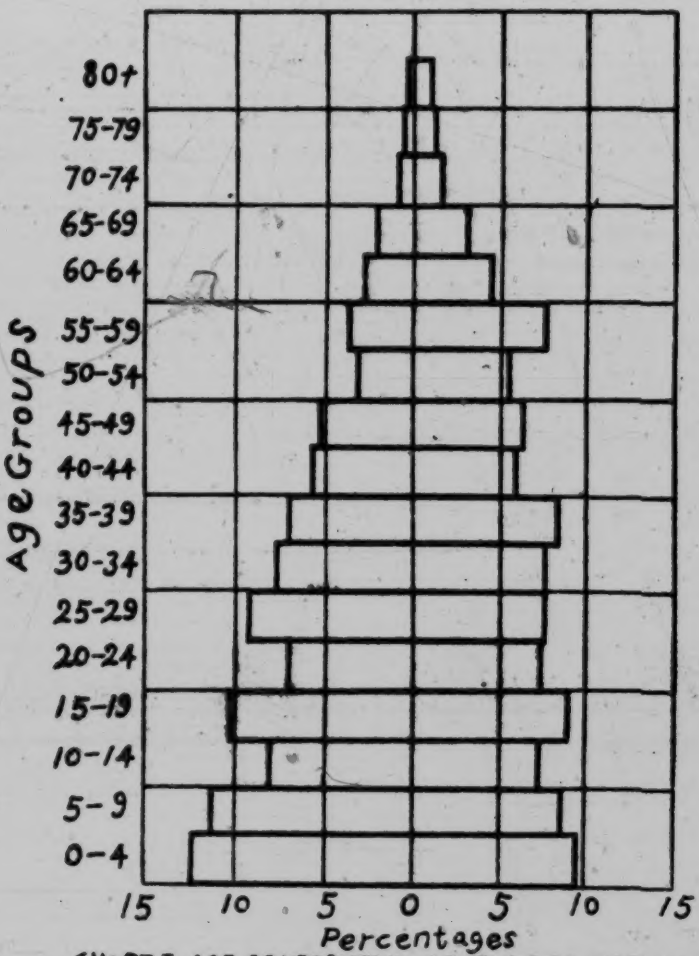

CHART I. AGE COMPOSITION OF FAMILY POPULATION

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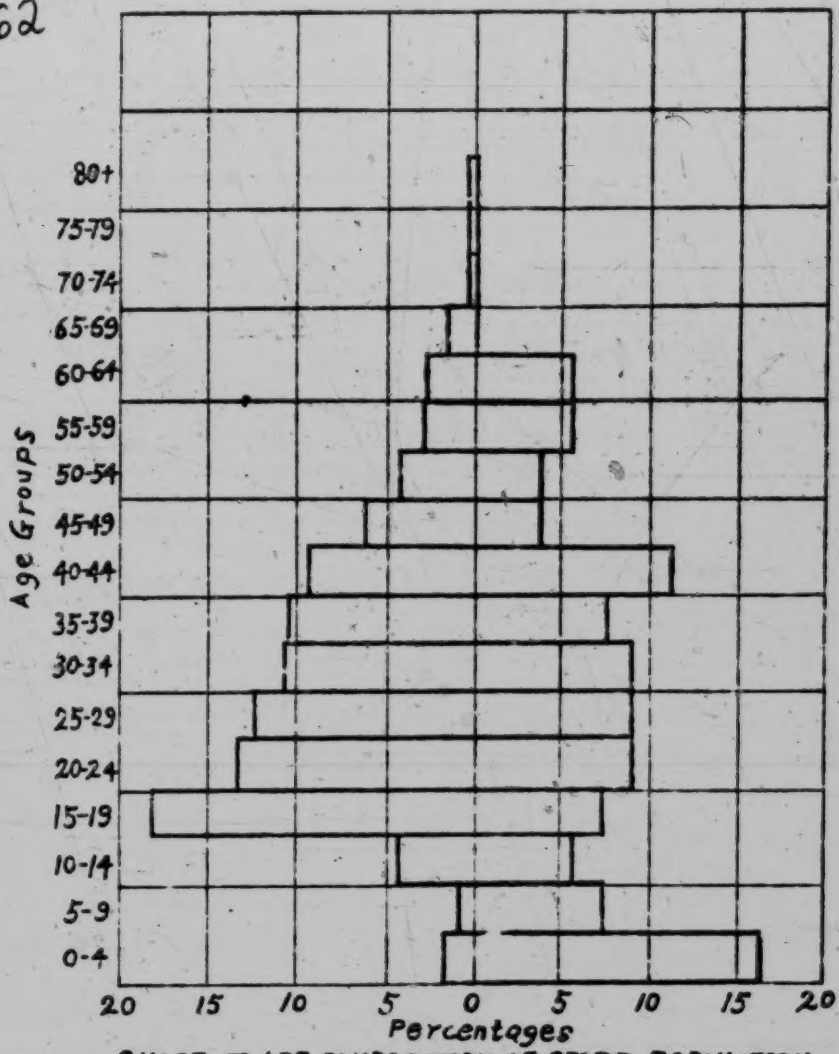

CHART II AGE COMPOSITION OF STORE POPULATION

POPULATION

If we draw out the data in graph form we can see the differences much more easily. The family population looks like a sharp pyramid, with the youngest age group as the foundation, and as age advances the percentage decreases until we have only about one percent in the seventy and eighty year groups. This ytpe of age pyramid is typical of family groups everywhere. In the case of store groups we have a different picture. The largest age group here is the 15-19 group, decreasing both downwards and upwards because in the stores we have very little use for children and less use for aged people. Owing to the small number of family stores the female group is very irregular, and for the same reason there will be very few people in the group below 10-14, and still fewer in the group above sixty years. The male group looks very much like a city group or an immigrant group. 162

TABLE VII AGE COMPOSITION OF FAMILY POPULATION.

Age Groups.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-14	528	29.1	304	31.9	224	25.9
15-49	954	52.4	510	53.5	444	51.5
50-	335	18.5	140	14.7	195	22.6
Total.	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 If we put these ages into three large groups corresponding to what we may call young under 15 years, adult from 15 to 49 inclusive, and old from 50 years upwards we can see the differences more clearly. As the age composition of the store group is so irregular we are leaving it out of our calculations for the time being. We do not get much information from the actual figures, but if we turn our attention to the percentages the differences are at once obvious. In all three cases the middle group contains more than half of the population. The males have a much higher percentage for the youngest group, and a very low percentage in the oldest group, while in the female groups the differences are not so marked. This corresponds to the theory that there are more males born, but that females attain to a greater age on the average.

If we adopt Whipple's scale of measuring the progressiveness of a population we find that the total

TABLE VIII WHIPPLE'S TABLE OF TYPES OF AGE DISTRIBUTION[1]

Age Groups	Percentage of Population.		
	Progressive	Stationary	Regressive.
0-14	40	33	20
15-49	50	50	50
50-	10	17	30

1. Whipple, *Vital Statistics*, p. 189

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

population and the male population correspond very closely to his type of stationary population, while the female population is more regressive. 162

4. Racial Composition

In the strict sense of the term there is no difference of race in the population of Ching Ho. All belong to the same racial stock which we call Mongolian, but if we think of the Manchus as a separate branch of the race we shall find that there is a difference in the racial composition of the population here. So far as the field workers have been able to find out there are only 35 males and 30 females who belong to the sub-racial stock of Manchus, which makes a total of 65 persons, or 2.7% of the whole population of Ching Ho. Although Ching Ho was not a Manchurian camp in the Tsing dynasty, yet many influences were received from the Manchus, especially by the people who lived around the former royal granary which we have described in the chapter on the history of Ching Ho. We suspect that some of the Manchus have possibly concealed the fact of their origin from the investigators as many do not like people to know that they are Manchus, and make every effort to keep the fact a secret. But usually we can tell whether a person is Manchu or Chinese by his name if he has not adopted a Chinese name. All Manchus belong to the same tribe and have a similar surname. Their names are Manchurian sounds translated into Chinese words, and the sounds are connected, so that we can easily tell whether it is a Manchurian name translated 162 563

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

into Chinese, in the same way as we distinguish names translated from the Western languages and the Japanese language.

5. Nativity.

As all people in Ching Ho are Chinese citizens we can only analyse them from the point of view of the places of which they are natives. It is not necessary that people should be born in a certain locality nor is it necessary that they should have grown up in a certain district in order to be called a native. It is the traditional connection, the connection established by father, grandfather or great-grandfather that makes one a native of a particular place. One may not be in the real sense a native of the locality, but a man's native place is regulated by his family connections. The present analysis is based on this traditional sense of the term nativity.

Let us first analyse the nativity of the family population which has less outsiders in its composition than has the store population.

From table VIII it will be seen that there are a comparatively small number who come from outside the district - 211 or 11.6% of the whole family population. This percentage may appear quite high at first, yet it is very low when compared with high proportion of people from outside the district in the store population. Those under the heading of Wan Ping include a few people from other villages and towns, and this will make the real percentage a little higher.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

QUANTITY AND DENSITY

TABLE VIII NATIVITY OF THE FAMILY POPULATION.

Locality	Total		Male.		Female.	
	No.	°/o	No.	°/o	No.	°/o
Wan Ping.	1,606	88.4	847	88 7	759	88.0
Hopei.[1]	142	7.8	73	7.7	69	7.9
Tientsin.	25		12		13	
Chang Ping.	17		9		8	
Peking.	16		10		6	
Peking North	9		3		6	
Peking West	6		3		3	
Other districts.	69		36		33	
Other Provinces.	69	3.8	34	3 6	30	4.1
Shantung	49		26		23	
Shansi	7		3		4	
Fentien	7		4		3	
Honan.	6		1		5	
Total.	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

1. Includus everyone from Hopei province except those from Wan Ping.

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TABLE IX NATIVITY OF THE STORE POPULATION.

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Locality.	Total		Male.		Female.	
	No.	°/₀	No.	°/₀	No.	°/₀
Local Town	149	24.3	106	19.1	43	75.4
Wan Ping[1]	51	8.3	50	9.0	1	1.8
Hopei[2]	376	61.4	364	65.4	12	21.2
Chang Ping	165		164		1	
Peking North.	38		37		1	
Peking West	27		23		4	
T'ung Hsien.	18		18		0	
Ta Ching	14		14		0	
Yao Yang	13		13		0	
Other districts.	101		95		6	
Other Provinces.	37	6.1	36	6.5	1	1.8
Shantung	29		28		1	
Shansi.	8		8		0	
Total	613	100.0	556	100.0	57	100.0

1. Except local town.

2. Except Wan Ping.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

QUANTITY AND DENSITY

It will be seen that in connection with the store population local inhabitants constitute only 24.3%. while people from outside the town constitute 75. 7%. This means that the business of Ching Ho is practiaclly controlled by outsiders. In the analysis of the nativity of the store population local people are differentiated from the people from neighbouring villages of the same county, although most of them still have their families in their respective villages, but pursue some kind of business at Ching Ho. The figures which we have presented in this table show the real number of natives. In passing it is interesting to note that Chang Ping, one of the neighbouring courties of Wang Ping has the largest number of people in Ching Ho, which seems to point to the fact that the people of Chang Ping are more familiar with business activities than the people of Wan Ping.

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6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

I. Size of the Family

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596 No definite conclusions with regard to the size of the family can be drawn unless we know what should be included in the family unit. Ordinarily a family includes everybody who lives under the same roof, eats at the same table, and shares in the privileges and duties of all the members. Two to three generations are often included in the family, but all in the unit are not necessarily blood relations. An adopted son or daughter, a servant or any other person sharing in the common life will be included in the economic family or household which in Chinese is called "fu" (戶)

162 The size of the store family will be dealt with in another chapter, and here we shall deal chiefly with size of the family of the ordinary people. The most popular idea is that the Chinese family is very large, but in our survey we have found the average number of members per family to be 4.9, which is not much more than in the United States where the number of members in the family is generally supposed to be small. In 1920 the number per family in the United States was 4.3, in New York City 4.4 and Great Britain 4.5. If we take 4.3 as 100 we have a proportion of 114 to 100 in comparing the Chinese and American family.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABIE X. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE.

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SIZE	NO. OF FAMILIES	NO. OF PERSONS
1	21	21
2	44	88
3	66	198
4	57	228
5	57	285
6	45	270
7	29	203
8	17	130
9	9	81
10	7	70
11	7	77
12	2	24
13	6	78
14	1	14
15	2	30
16	1	16
TOTAL	371	1819

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

162 The different sizes of the family and their respective frequencies are shown in table X where it will be seen that the most general size is one of three persons, closely followed by families of four and five persons, and then those of six and two members. These five types include 269 families or 72.5% of the 371 families examined.

Closely connected with the economic family or household is the biological family including only blood relations, and those introduced into the family by marriage. Here the average number of persons per family is 4.8, a slightly smaller size than the economic family unit.

2. Family Organization.

596 One characteristic of the Chinese family group is the complexity of its organization. Brothers and even cousins, after marriage, often live together in the same family unit, and five generations with one hundred or more members in one family unit is not unknown. In considering family organization in Ching Ho we have only included blood relations, and not friends, workers, or relatives on the maternal side.

There are two ways in which we can analyse the family; the vertical analysis by which we find how many lines of family members there are, such as married brothers and cousins; and the horizontal analysis by which we find how many generations, married and unmarried are living in the same family unit. In the vertical analysis members who are descended from the family head or his parents are

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3. Family Management.

The management of the family may be divided into two parts; the management of the more important affairs, which is in the hands of the family head, who in China is usually the husband or father; and the management of the routine business which is in the hands of the family manager, usually the wife or mother. The purpose of the present analysis is to show where the responsibility for these functions lies in Ching Ho.

We found that of the 371 families ten had women as family heads, and of these nine were widows without husband or son, and only in one case did the widowed mother take the position over the heads of her married sons. From this we can infer that the family heads are usually the husband, father or son, and that the widowed mother rarely takes the position of family head if there is any other qualified member of the family.

But when we came to consider the work of family manager the position was changed. Although in the majority of cases it was still the husband and father who actually managed the family affairs, yet number of female managers was very large, amounting to 129 or 37.4% of the 344 families where the managers were known to the investigators, 73 were wives and 42 mothers. The distribution is presented in Table VIII.

4. Marital Status

In considering the marital status we have only included those qualified for marriage. In this case the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XIII. PERSONNEL OF FAMILY MANAGERS

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PERSONNEL	NO. OF CASES	%
Male	215	62.5
Husband	205	
Son	7	
Father	3	
Femole	129	37.5
Wife	73	
Mother	42	
Widow	9	
Daughter in law	2	
Daughter	1	
Mother in law	1	
Aunt	1	
TOTAL	344	100.0
Unknown	27	

162 age of 16 has been used as a dividing line, although the age varies from 14 to 16 in different places according to custom and legislation. In Ching Ho there were 1260 persons in the families above the age of 16 years, and 557 below that age.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE XIV. MARRIAGEABLE POPULATION IN THE FAMILIES

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Marriageability	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Marriageable over 16 years	1,260	69.3	630	66.0	630	73.0
Unmarriageable under 16 years	557	30.7	324	34.0	233	27.0
Total	1,817	100.0	954	100.0	863	100.0

Among the 1260 persons counted as marriageable 804 or 64.3% had been married for the first time, but when we counted those who had been widowed, and those who had remarried we found that 1,003 persons or 80.2% of the marriageable persons were or had married. Turning to the other side we found that there were only 248 or 19.8% who were not were not married. Careful examination of our figures revealed to us some rather striking facts which deserve special attention. We found that of the 1003 married people, 555 were females and only 448 males, while among the unmarried there were 175 males and only 73 females. The larger number of females in the married class was accounted for by the 134 widows as compared with only 40 widowers, a proportion of 3.35 to 1. Two reasons may be given for this, firstly, that on on the whole women live longer than men, and often

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

outlive their husbands; and secondly, that after the death of a wife a great number of men re-marry, while relatively few widows marry again. This statement is proved in Table XVI by the large number of re-marriages among the as men compared with the women.

TABLE XV. MARITAL STATUS OF FAMILY POPULATION

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	1,003	80.2	448	71.9	555	88.4
Married[1]	804	64.3	390	62.6	414	66.0
Widowed	174	13.9	40	6.4	134	21.3
Remarried	20	1.6	18	2.9	2	0.3
Concubine	5	0.4	0	0.0	5	0.8
Unmarried	248	19.8	175	28.1	73	11.6
Not engaged	244	19.5	174	27.9	70	11.2
Engaged	4	0.3	1	2	3	0.4
Total	1,251	100.0	623	100.0	628	100.0
Unknown	9					

1. Married here means married for the first time and both husband and wife still living.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

The reason for the large number of unmarried 162
males compared with unmarried females may be answered in two ways; either the man is marrying at a later age than the women, or more males remain single. The first suggestion will be discussed in the next section, but here it may be remarked that in most cases men do marry at a later age than women. It is very difficult to determine the second suggestion, as a person may live a single life up to the age of 50 years and then marry. The only way in which we can make a tentative guess is by comparing the number of unmarried persons of both sexes over a certain

TABLE XVI MARITAL STATUS OF STORE POPULATION

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	389	73.1	353	71.6	36	92.3
Married[1]	370	69.5	340	69.0	30	77.0
Widowed	9	1.7	4	0.8	5	12.8
Remarried	10	1.9	9	1.8	1	2.5
Unmarried	143	26.9	140	28.4	3	7.7
Totol	532	100.0	493	100.0	39	100.0
Unknown	3		3		0	

1. Married for the first time and both husband and wife living.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

962 age. If we take the age of 50 years we find there are several single females but not one male who has not been married, which seems to point to the fact that males do not remain single all through life, but that there is very little chance for a single female to marry after middle life.

A store population is not so convenient for comparison as a family population as many people who belong to a family live in the store. In this case we should naturally expect to find more single people, and this occurred in Ching Ho where the percentage of single people in the stores was 26.9% as against 19.8% in the families.

5. Marriage Rate.

The term "marriage rate" has two meanings: number of *marriages* per thousand of the population; or number of *persons* married per thousand of the population. We Can count marriages occuring between a man and woman of the same locality as one marriage, but it is difficult to analyse when a man marries outside the community. Even if we use the method of counting the rate in persons we have the danger of counting the same person twice. The best method would would be to count men and women each in their native places, but it is often very difficult to trace people who have married and left their homes. In this case we have counted the men who belong to the community, and the girls who have married into the community. In most cases these will about balance the women who have married outside the com-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

munity and we may expect to get a marriage rate which is very near to the real rate. 162

Among the 1819 living in the families we found cnly nine married pairs, or eighteen single persons married during the year, a rate of about 9.9 per 1000. Marriages in a store population cannot be counted in pairs, as only husbands usually work in the stores, the wives remaining in their native places. In Ching Ho there were eight persons married nuring the current year, a rate of 13.1 per 1000. Averaging the total store and family population; we have a marriage rate of 10.7 per 1000.

6. Age at Marriage.

In the minds of both Chinese and foreigners the system of early marriages has long been considered as a great curse to China, and the general impression has been that most Chinese people are married at about the age of 16 years. A glance at the following table will show the fallacy of such generalizations. Although a number of persons have been married at 16 years, it will be seen that it is neither the usual nor the average age. As we can see from the table, the modal age was 19 years, and the average for all the persons studied was 20 years. 582 162

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TABLE XVII DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGE AGE[1]

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AGE PERIODS	TOTAL		MALE	FEMALE
	NO.	%		
11	2	0.2	2	0
12	6	0.5	3	3
13	11	0.9	4	7
14	55	4.5	27	28
15	63	5.1	31	32
16	148	12.1	75	73
17	96	7.8	57	39
18	150	12.3	84	66
19	163	13.3	95	68
20	99	8.1	53	46
21	68	5.6	46	22
22	66	5.4	38	28
23	54	4.4	40	14
24	71	5.8	51	20
25	31	2.5	22	9
26	35	2.8	22	13
27	31	2.5	25	6
28	13	1.1	12	1
29	17	1.4	11	6
30-34	25	2.0	20	5
35-29	11	0.9	6	5
40-	9	0.7	6	3
Total	1,224	100.0	730	494

1. Includes only these who marriage age has reported.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

Another popular prevailing impression is that boys marry at an even earlier age than girls, but our enquires in Ching Ho have not supperted this hypothesis. While there is not a great difference, yet the figures show thot the average age of men at marriage has been 20.3, while that for girls has been 19.3.

7. Comparative Ages of Husband and Wife.

Another interesting study has been that of the comparative ages of husband and wife. It is usually thought that, while in Western countries the wife is younger than the husband, the reverse is the case in China, but in the 697 cases where we were able to make a study we found a much larger percentage of cases where the husband was older then wife.

TABLE XVIII SENIORITY OF HYSBAND AND WIFE

SENIORITY	NO. OF CASES	%
Husbadd Older	427	61.4
Wife older	177	25.4
Same age	93	13.2
Total	697	100.0

In examining the differences in years we found some interesting results. Glancing over the following table the first thing that strikes us is the much greater age of husbands. No wife is more than eight years older than her husband, while there are five cases where husbands are 16 years older than their wives. The average years of seniority in the case of wives is only 2.4 years as against 4.8 years in the case of husbands.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XIX DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS OF SENIORITY

YERBS OF SENIORITY	SENIOR HUSBANDS	SENIOR WIVES
1	46	46
2	90	57
3	51	33
4	41	12
5	33	12
6	35	3
7	23	0
8	25	2
9	13	0
10	26	0
11	4	0
12	7	0
13	4	0
14	2	0
15	0	0
16	5	0
Years unknown	22	12
Total	427	177

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XLII. OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION

OCCUPATION	NO. OF CASES	PERCENTAGE
Trade	169	29.1
Agriculture	127	22.0
Public service	50	8.6
Handicraft	39	6.7
Communication	33	5.7
Personal service	29	5.0
Libourers	29	5.0
Apprentices	26	4.5
Coolies	23	4.0
Cooks	22	3.8
Teachers	5	0.9
Doctors	4	0.7
Unclassified	24	4.1
Total	580	100.0
Unemployed	46	
Unknown	20	
Less those celow 16	16	
Grand total	630	

Some notes may be necessary to explain the

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking, 178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to 511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

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The range of income of the families in the different districts shows that the poor and the well-to-do families tend to live relatively near each other. The 38 families with incomes of more than $100 a month were living in 11 different police districts and outside two of the gates. So far as can be determined, the only differences in the accounts that were the direct result of the location of the homes, were lower rents for those living outside the city wall, and no expenditure for water by many of the families outside the gates, since they were able to carry their own water supply from the public well, and were not obliged to buy it from a water-carrier.

Race and Origin

There were 256 Chinese, 23 Manchu and four Mohammedan families in the group. It is estimated that the population of the city as a whole is from 72 to 77 per cent Chinese, from 20 to 25 per cent Manchu, and 3 per cent Mohammedan,[2] so there is a relatively small representation of Manchu and Mohammedan families in our group. However, aside from the fact that the Mohammedan families do not eat pork and do not use coffins when burying their dead, the accounts have not shown that race has any noticeable influence on the economic life of these families.

The heads of 60 per cent of the families were born in Peiping; 25 per cent came from Hopei (Chihli), the province in which Peiping is located; another 10 per cent from Shantung. Only 13 families, 5 per cent, came from provinces other than Shantung and Hopei. These came from nine different provinces, as far south as Kwantung,

[2] No. 17.

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and as far north as Fengtien in Manchuria, but none of the provinces west of Honan and Kiangsi were represented. A larger group of families would undoubtedly include natives of virtually all the provinces, especially if there were more of the higher income families. Several of the men born in Peiping gave other provinces as the family origin, but also reported that the family had been in Peiping more than a hundred years.

It is suggestive to note that while the heads of 75 per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, the proportion decreased as the income increased, and was only 32 per cent for families with incomes of more than $100 a month. Ninety-six per cent of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping or Hopei province, but this was true of only 64 per cent of those receiving more than $100 a month. (Table 1.) All but two of the 13 families that came from the more distant provinces had incomes of more than $50 a month. Of the 113 non-native families, all but 16 had been in Peiping more than five years, and all but 44 more than ten years.

Size of Family

At the beginning of the study there were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. These persons included 46 servants living with 33 families, and also family members living in Peiping whose work made it impossible for them to come home except occasionally, such as policemen, those working as servants for others, boys serving their apprenticeships. Members of the family living outside of Peiping were not counted, even though they contributed to

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the support of the family. Married daughters were not included, even if they lived in Peiping, since a married woman is a member of her husband's family, rather than that of her parents.

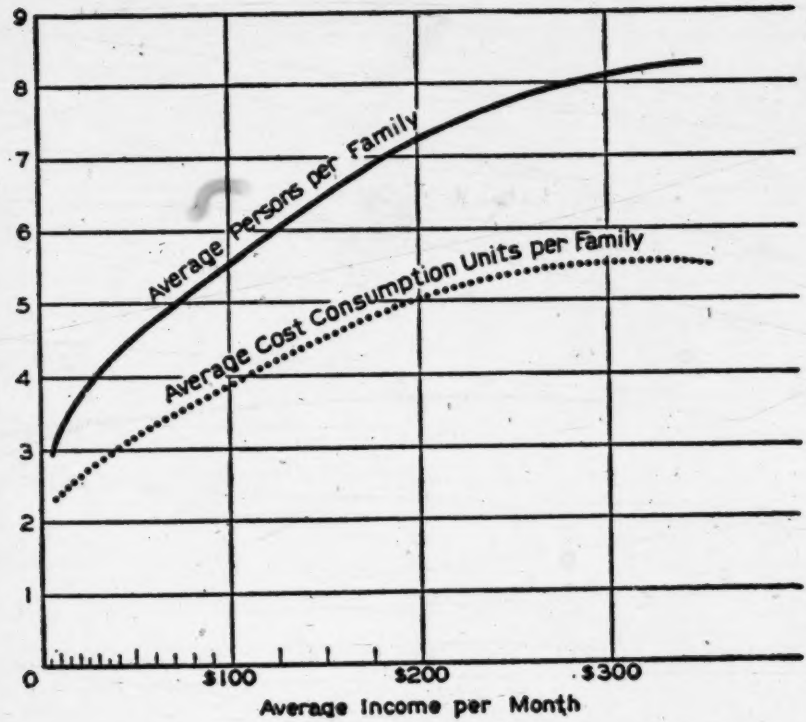

FIGURE 4—Size of Families: Number of Persons and Cost Consumption Units.

There were 4 persons in the median family and 4.6 persons in the average family. In the different income groups the averages ranged from 3 to 8.6, the number generally increasing as the family income increased. (Table 2.) This tendency is graphically shown in Figure 4. Even if servants are omitted, the number in the family still shows a definite though lessened tendency to increase

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162 595 as the family income increases. The highest average would be 7.8, instead of 8.6 persons per family. This increase in the size of the average family as income increases is generally found in studies of Chinese budgets.

Individual families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. There were four families with more than ten members; and 19 families—7 per cent—with more than seven members. The largest family consisted of 24 persons—a couple, their five sons, four daughters-in-law, nine grandchildren, and four servants. Another family with 15 members included a couple, their six children, the husband's mother, two of the wife's nieces, and four servants. A family with 11 members consisted of a couple, their seven daughters and one son (these ranging in age from four to twenty-one years) and a nephew living in the household and working as a servant without pay. Another family with 12 members consisted of a man forty-seven years of age, his second wife, eight children—four boys and four girls—and two servants. These families all had incomes of more than $125 a month.

There was one family of four persons in the $5 group; one of six in the $10 group; four families with seven members in the $15 group; one with eight in the $20 group; and one with nine in the $25 group. Only two of the 31 families with two members had incomes of more than $60 a month. Only one of the 26 families receiving more than $125 a month had less than four members.

511 Family needs for food, clothing, house equipment and the like vary as the result of differences in the number, age and sex of the persons composing the household. Several scales have been worked out to take account of these differences and give a common unit as a basis for

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Age and Sex

The 1,312 persons included in our study comprised 643 males and 669 females, or 49 per cent males. This proportion of males is slightly lower than the usual family average.

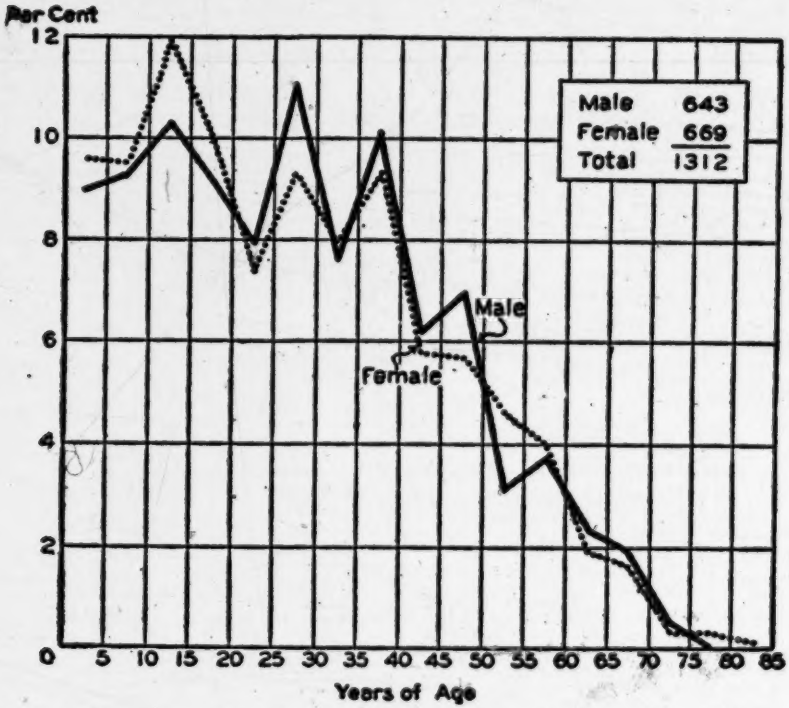

Figure 5—Age Distribution: Per Cent of Males and Females in Five-Year Age Groups.

The average age of the group was approximately twenty-eight years, Chinese count. The ages are given according to the Chinese system whereby a baby is one year old when born, and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. On the average, ages given according to Chinese count would be one year less if figured to the

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162 latest birthday. The age distribution of the two sex groups is shown in Figure 5 and Table 3.

In some American cities, the average age is approximately twenty-nine years, foreign count, or about two years older than the average age of the group included in our study.

Some of the sharp fluctuations in the graphs, especially those in the lower age groups, probably are due to the relatively small number of persons in the group. The differences between the curves for the males and the females are due chiefly to the fact that a slightly larger proportion of the females were under sixteen and over fifty years of age. The differences are not large, however. The figures are: under sixteen years of age—males 28.6 per cent, females 31 per cent; over fifty years of age —males 11.5 per cent, females 12.8 per cent. There were three women but no men who were over seventy-five years of age. In the United States, 15.7 per cent of the males and 14.9 per cent of the females were fifty years of age, or over. In several of the larger American cities the averages were males 15.3 per cent, females 15.9 per cent.[4]

In our study, the proportion of children under sixteen years of age, 29.8 per cent, is less than the 31.8 per cent of the general population in the United States, but is considerably higher than the 26.6 per cent that is the average proportion of children in several of the larger American cities; and almost one and three-quarters times the 17.2 per cent for all of Peiping.[5] In 88 families, 31 per cent, there were no children under sixteen years of age, but 40 of these 88 families included children who were

[4] U. S. Census, 1920. Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis.
[5] Peiping Census, 1917.

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sixteen, or over. There were 28 couples who had no children, or relatives living with them. Seven of these were employing servants. Evidently there is no connection between the amount of income and the proportion of families with no young children, as there were no children under sixteen years of age in two-thirds of the families in the $5, the $70, and the $175 groups. The largest proportion of families with young children was found in the $20, the $35, and the $80 groups. In these groups, there were children under sixteen years of age in more than 80 per cent of the families.

There were four families with no males, and three with no females. In two families—one in the $70, and one in the $100 group—there were two wives. A third man had been living with two wives, but one of them had left him just before the beginning of our study. During the year there were 18 births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings reported. One family adopted a boy, another gave an eight-year-old son to his uncle for adoption. Still another sold a son for $5.

Marital Condition

Seventy-four per cent of the men and 84 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age were married, or had been married. Seventy per cent of the men and 71 per cent of the women had living spouses, while 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There were 309 married couples living together. Three women had husbands who were away from Peiping at the time of our study. One woman was married and living with her husband, but was difficult to classify as she was a secondary wife. There were 57

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162 widows and 16 widowers. In one family there were two widows, one a secondary wife. Among the widows there were three sisters-in-law of the men who were heads of the house, three daughters-in-law, one aunt, one stepmother, five mothers-in-law. Under the Chinese family system, it is unusual to find a man's mother-in-law living with his family.

There were 24 families in which there were no married couples. In 29 families, there were two couples; in seven families, there were three couples; in another, four; and in yet another, five. Three generations were represented in 50 families, but in only three of these was there an immediate possibility of four generations. In two of those, the grandparents were less than sixty-five years of age. In the days of the Empire, five generations living under one roof was the mark of a special blessing of Heaven, and was given recognition by the Emperor.

Omitting the servants, for whom we have no data, there were 115 unmarried males and 72 single females over fifteen years of age. This was 16 per cent of the women and 26 per cent of the men over fifteen years of age. Twenty-seven per cent of the women between sixteen and twenty years of age were married, but only 14 per cent of the men. In the twenty-one to twenty-five year groups, 76 per cent of the women were married, but only 26 per cent of the men. Of those between twenty-six and thirty years of age, 26 per cent of the men, and 11 per cent of the women, were single. Over thirty, 5 per cent of the men and 1.4 per cent of the women were single. From these figures it would appear that the popular marriage age was about twenty-one or twenty-two

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for the women, and twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. 162

In a study of rural families, we found one group where 70 per cent of the women were older than their husbands. In the city group, there were only 39 cases, one out of eight, where the wife was older than the husband. In 31 of the 39 cases, the difference in age was less than four years, and in no family was it more than six years.

For one-half of all the couples, the difference in age between husband and wife was not more than three years, but there were 17 couples where the difference was ten or more years. Most of these were in the low-income groups, and in all of them the husband was older than the wife. The records do not show how many of the husbands had been married a second time.

It was not possible to get a report of age at marriage. The difference in age between the mother and the oldest child in the family will not always give this information, but the figures will be at least suggestive. For 27 per cent, the difference was less than twenty years. For 32 per cent, it was between twenty-one and twenty-five years. It seems apparent, therefore, that more than one-third of the women were married by the time they were twenty-one. This would seem to show that recently there has been some increase in the age at marriage for women, and probably also for men.

Occupation

There were 340 men and 98 women wage earners, or an average of 1.5 per family. Fourteen boys were serving their apprenticeships. There was more than one wage

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earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. Seventy-seven families had two wage earners; 19 had three; and ten had four or more persons contributing to the family budget. These ten families all had incomes between $15 and $40 a month. The only family with six wage earners belonged to the $30 group. The father was a vegetable peddler, the two sons ricksha men. The mother and two daughters-in-law wove cloth. Over 10 per cent of the income of this family came from the secret sale of cabbage, which had been taken as "squeeze" from others. The sale was reported to our investigators but not to the owners of the cabbage.

The men were engaged in 55 different occupations, the women in 13. The largest groups for the men were clerks and accountants, 47; ricksha men, 46; peddlers, 25; employees of the electric company, 24; teachers, 21; storekeepers, 17; servants, 13; house owners, 12. One of the storekeepers was selling opium. One-half the peddlers were selling fruit and vegetables. Fifty-eight women were earning small amounts by sewing and washing; nine were making toothbrushes for which they were paid 1 copper apiece; six were nurses; five were teachers. The complete list of occupations represented in this study is given in Table 4. This list, of course, is not exhaustive so far as Peiping as a whole is concerned, nor are the proportions engaged in the different kinds of work necessarily typical.

It will be noted from Table 5,[1] which gives the amounts paid the workers employed by the month, that the wages of most of the unskilled and of some of the semi-skilled men began at $12 a month; also that some men sufficiently educated to teach, or to do clerical work, were paid $14 a

[1] [See p. 317. — ANALYST]

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of these trades, it seems probable that these were high averages. The wagon drivers lost approximately four days a month.

The women doing sewing and washing received an average of 33 cents a day for the days they worked; but one-half of those for whom figures are available worked on the average less than six days a month. There were four women who reported income on more than 200 days. In two families they were the only breadwinners.

None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed. In only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 were there any women working. They were trained nurses and teachers.

Religion

Four Mohammedan families were included in our group, and 52 families in which there was some Christian influence—where one or more persons were either inquirers or church members. This is a smaller proportion of Mohammedan families, and a much larger proportion of families with Christian influence, than would be true for Peiping as a whole.

Account keeping was new to many of the families, and they were willing to do it for us largely because they were friends of the field-work directors, or friends of their friends. Both of the head field-workers were graduates of mission schools, so their acquaintance and that of their friends would naturally include a large proportion of families who had had some contact with Christianity. Such contact would tend to eliminate expenditure for non-

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434 Three-quarters of the families with incomes of less than $25 a month were natives of Peiping, but only 32 per cent of the families with incomes of more than $100 a month. (Table 1.)

162 There were 1,312 persons in the 283 families. Forty-nine per cent were males, or 643 males and 669 females. 434 The population of Peiping is 63.5 per cent male.[1] The families ranged in size from two to 24 persons. Nineteen families, 7 per cent, had eight or more members. There were four persons in the median family, and 4.6 in the average family. If the families are divided into income groups, the group averages show that the size of the family increased as the family income increased. The income group average was less than four persons until the families received more than $15 a month; generally between four and five persons until the income was over $80 a month; and over eight persons when the income was more than $200 a month. (Table 2.) This increase in the size of the average family group living together seems to be typical of Chinese families. Servants were counted as family members, since their food, et cetera, is provided by their employers and consequently is part of the family budget. There were 47 servants working for 34 families. All but five of these families had incomes of more than $90 a month.

If the needs of the families are expressed in terms of those of an adult male, the average number of cost consumption units in the average family was 3.2. The number increased as the family income increased, and at virtually the same rate as the number of persons in the family. It was 2.3 for the $5 group; generally less than

[1] No. 17.

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three until the income was over $60 a month; over four when the income was over $125 a month; and over five when the income was above $200 a month. (Table 2.)

The average age of the group was some twenty-eight years, Chinese count. In some American cities, the average person is approximately two years older.[2] Eighty-four per cent of the females and 74 per cent of the males over fifteen years of age had been married; but 13 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men had been widowed and had not remarried. There was more than one wife in only two families. Judging from the number of single persons in the different age groups, the most popular marriage age seems to be from twenty-one to twenty-three for the women, and from twenty-six to twenty-eight for the men. Eighteen births, 15 deaths, and nine weddings were reported during the year.

Income was earned by 340 men working in 55 occupations, and 98 women engaged in 13 kinds of work, an average of 1.5 persons per family. (Table 4.) There was more than one wage earner in 106 families, 37 per cent. One family had six workers, a vegetable peddler, two ricksha men, three women weaving cloth. The largest occupational groups for the men were clerks and accountants 47, ricksha men 46, peddlers 25. More than half of the women workers earned small amounts sewing and washing. None of the women in the 23 families with incomes of more than $150 a month were gainfully employed, and in only four of the 45 families with incomes between $70 and $150 a month were any of the women working. They were nurses and teachers.

The group included four Mohammedan families, and

[2] No. 44.

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APPENDIX II

TABLE 1

Family Origin

162

Monthly Income	Peiping		Hopei		Shantung		Other	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Below $25	87	75	24	21	4	3	1	1
$25—49	44	62	17	24	9	13	1	1
$50—74	17	49	10	28	6	17	2	6
$75—100	10	44	9	39	1	4	3	13
Over $100	12	32	12	32	8	21	6	15
Total	170	60	72	25	28	10	13	5

TABLE 2

Number of Families and Persons, Average Number of Persons, and Cost Consumption Units Per Family

Monthly Income	Families	Persons	Persons per Family	C. C. U. per Family
All	283	1312	4.6	3.2
$ 5— 9[1]	3	9	3.0	2.3
10— 14	27	92	3.4	2.4
15— 19	60	245	4.1	2.9
20— 24	26	122	4.7	3.3
25— 29	19	82	4.3	2.9
30— 34	20	84	4.2	2.9
35— 39	16	81	5.1	3.2
40— 49	16	63	3.9	2.6
50— 59	19	70	3.7	2.6
60— 69	9	50	5.6	3.6
70— 79	9	36	4.0	3.1
80— 89	12	72	6.0	4.1
90— 99	9	47	5.2	3.7
100—124	11	56	5.1	3.9
125—149	4	30	7.5	4.4
150—174	6	39	6.5	4.8
175—199	3	16	5.3	4.1
200—299	8	69	8.6	5.8
300—	6	49	8.2	5.4

[1] Limits for income groups, $5.00-$5.99, $10.00-$14.99, etc. To simplify tables, figures to right of decimal point have been omitted.

TABLE 3

162

Age and Sex—Number in Five-Year Age Groups

Age	Male	Female	Total
1— 5	58	63	121
6—10	60	63	123
11—15	66	81	147
16—20	57	68	125
21—25	51	50	101
26—30	69	64	133
31—35	49	52	101
36—40	65	62	127
41—45	40	39	79
46—50	45	38	83
51—55	20	31	51
56—60	23	28	51
61—65	15	13	28
66—70	12	11	23
71—75	3	2	5
76—80	..	2	2
81—85	..	1	1
N. D.	5	6	11
Total	638	674	1312

TABLE 4

Occupations—Men

462

Clerk and Accountant	47	Carpenter	5
Contractor	1	Chauffeur	1
Doctor	2	Cook	6
Fortune-teller	1	Coalball Maker	3
House Owner	12	Embroidery Worker	1
Inn Keeper	1	Glasses Grinder	1
Librarian	1	Hair Ornament Maker	1
Money Lender	2	Machinist	1
Musician	2	Mason	6
Office Manager	1	Mat Shed Builder	3
Preacher	6	Medicine Maker	3
Story-teller	1	Painter	1
Teacher	21	Paper Flower Maker	1
Translator	2	Paper Hanger	5
		Pen Maker	1
Army	3	Printer	3
Police	6	Shoemaker	5
Post Office	8		
Railroad	3	Electric Company	24
Telegraph	1		
Telephone	2	Storekeeper	17
Barber	1	Peddler	25
Bird Catcher	3		
Cloth Worker	1	Store Clerk or Worker	13

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121 As the great majority of modern factories in this country are situated in the "foreign settlements" of various ports, we naturally turned our attention to them in our project of investigation. This again proved infeasible, as neither municipal authorities nor foreign factory managers were then in any way inclined to permit a "foreign" institution, that is, a Chinese institution, to look into what they considered affairs of their own. What right, indeed, had a "foreigner" to inquire into the working conditions of the thousands of his countrymen under their employ or jurisdiction? Under such circumstances, it is but natural that little could be done in regard to the study of Chinese labour conditions in general.

Though denied the opportunity of an extensive survey of Chinese labour, we were, however, fortunate in being able to conduct an intensive study of two factories of the modern type, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Yung Li Soda Works (or Pacific [162] Alkali Works) at Tangku. Tangku, it may be mentioned in passing, is an important town situated thirty miles southeast of Tientsin on the Pei-ho and about one-fifth of its total population, which is estimated at 5,000, is constituted by workers of the two factories. The result of this study is embodied in a Chinese report made by Mr. Sung-Ho Lin, the investigator, and the present report in English is an abridged translation of it.

121 466 We must confess that we were happy in the choice of these two factories and this for several reasons. First, both of them are among the very few industrial enterprises in this country that are organized as well as directed by men who are well qualified for the work. Disregarding for the present the factories owned and controlled by foreigners, we may say that the majority of Chinese-owned factories are run by men usually ignorant of the technique and implications of modern industry. This is not so with the founder and managers of the two factories under consideration, however. All of them have received technical education in colleges and what is more important, have gained valuable experiences in factories in Japan or the United States. Besides, they have realized that their business does not exist solely for

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is that new workers, most of whom came from Shantung, have been excluded in our sample.

Table 14.—Nativity of the 86 Resident Workers

Province	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	46	53
Shantung	31	36
Metropolitan District	7	9
Honan	1	1
Shansi	1	1
Total	86	100

As to the age of these workers,[1] it is shown in Table 15 that 67.5 per cent is between the 19-29 age interval, 25.3 per cent between the 30-39 age interval and 7.2 per cent between the 40-59 age interval. It appears that young men between 19-39 constitute more than 92 per cent of the total. The average age is 28.15. If we take into consideration all resident workers, both new and old, the average age would be still lower, as the newly recruited workers were all around the age of 20.

Table 15.—Age Distribution of the 86 Resident Workers

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	1[1]	1.2
20-29	57	66.3
30-39	22	25.3
40-49	3	3.6
50-59	3	3.6
Total	86	100.0

[1] The age of this worker was 19.

As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, the work in the factory may be divided into (1) the principal work, that is, salt refining work proper and (2) the subsidiary work. Except the skilled workers, such as electricians, carpenters and iron

[1] [A SAMPLE OF WORKERS IN THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY IN TANGKU — ANALYST]

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division, how pitiably small each portion will be, it can be imagined.

The size and composition of the so-called "greater family" of the workers at their native places are shown in Table 18.

Table 18.—Size and Member Relationship of 86 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
1	1	1.2
2	3	3.5
3	9	10.5
4	14	16.3
5	17	19.8
6	12	14.0
7	12	14.0
8	3	3.5
9	6	7.0
10	4	4.7
12	2	2.3
14	2	2.3
Total	85	100.0
Average number of persons per family	5.96	

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	86	22.6
Wives	41	8.0
Sons	21	4.1
Daughters	8	1.6
Fathers	48	9.3
Mothers	64	12.5
Brothers	116	22.6
Sisters	24	4.7
Sisters-in-law	38	7.4
Nephews	28	5.4
Nieces	18	3.5
Uncles	7	1.4
Aunts	7	1.4
Grand fathers	3	.6
Grand mothers	3	.6
Stepmother	1	.2
Grand son	1	.2
Total	514	100.0

The family of from four to seven members seems to be the predominating type. The miximum size of the worker's family had 14 members, while the average size of each family is about six.

From the composition of these families in Table 18, it will also be noted that from the grandfather, the grandmother and the uncle down to the grandson, all immediate relatives usually live in one household. It has been the custom in China for sons to live with their parents after marriage, and the size of a family

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162 is therefore steadily enlarged. This tradition is still prevailing in country-places, in spite of its evident undesirability.

Table 19 shows the age distribution of all the members of the 86 resident workers' families.

Table 19.—Age Distribution of Members of Resident Workers' Families

Age group	Males	Females	Total	Per cent	
Under 5	17	7	24	4.7	11.3
5–9	19	15	34	6.6	
10–14	19	17	36	7.0	16.1
15–19	30	17	47	9.1	
20–29	99	44	143	27.8	
30–39	54	25	79	15.4	
40–49	29	27	56	10.9	
50–59	30	25	55	10.7	
60–69	9	16	25	4.9	
70–79	4	6	10	1.9	
80–89	3	2	5	1.0	
Total	313	201	514	100.0	

It will be seen that persons between 15-59 constituted 73.9 per cent of the total number. Those whose ages are either below or above these limits constitute only 26.1 per cent.

Table 20.—Age of Marriage of 45 Resident Workers

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
14–15	7	6
16–20	19	34
21–25	7	5
26–30	10[1]	—
31–35	1	—
36–40	1[2]	—
Total	45	45
Average age of marriage[3]	20.90	18.11

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] Age of second marriage.
[3] Excluding the ages of second marriage.

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Only 45 of the resident workers were married. As shown in Table 20, 43 workers were married before the age of 30; of these, 26 were married before the age of 20. It is noteworthy that two workers were married at the young age of 14. Women, it seems, were married at a much younger age than men and they were all married before 25. But, on the whole, it appears from the table that most men and women were married between 16 and 20. Early marriage in China, though at present declining in modern cities, has been quite common in conservative country districts.

Age difference between husbands and wives was found to be as follows: same age 2; husbands older than wives 29, wives older than husbands 14. It seems that among the husbands who were older than their wives, the difference was usually one or two years. Late marriage among men is often due to their inability to support the family, but, in such late marriages, men usually get younger wives. Early marriage in the country districts often happens, when the parents want a daughter-in-law to help take charge of household affairs; in this case, a daughter-in-law somewhat older than the son is preferred.

Of the 86 workers, there were 12 illiterates and 74 literates. Of the latter, 47 were able to read newspapers and 27 were not. Only 22.7 or about one-fourth of the total number of literate workers had some sort of schooling. At the time of the investigation, 66 out of the 74 workers were attending the Workmen's School; the rest who were not were all over 25, which is the age limit set by the factory for compulsory education. There is no doubt that the Workmen's School renders a very useful service to the workers as it was found that at least 26 of the workers who could read newspapers have been educated there. And it is said that some of the literate workers had even begun to take interest in fiction and light literature.

II. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 86 RESIDENT WORKERS

As has been stated in Chapter II, the income of the workers in the Chiu Ta Factory consists of six items: (1) wages (2)

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wage levels either had no families at Tangku or had them for a period shorter than a year. On the whole the sample may be considered as representative of that class of families in which Chiu Ta workers were main supporters. Besides, if we exclude the new arrivals in 1927, there were in the winter of the preceding year only 90 workers with families in Tangku, of which the 61 familes consituted already two-thirds. If we exclude again the eleven apprentices from consideration, there would remain only 79 families, of which our sample of 61 would constitute three-quarters.

In the analysis of the data, those who did not eat or live at home, or have any share in the family expenses were excluded from our consideration. Sums of money sent by such persons to their homes were considered as "contributions".

Of the 61 working families, 23 migrated from Shantung, 20 from Chihli, 5 from the Metropolitan District, and one from Honan. The remaining 12 were all local families, and of these nine were originally from Shantung or Chihli and established their households there after they had joined the factory.

Thirty two out of the 61 workers, it is found, had been in the employ of the factory from five to eight years, but more than one third of their families were moved to Tangku only for a year or two.

Table 26.—Age Distribution of Workers

Age group	Number of workers	Per cent
Under 20	2	3.3
20-29	18	29.5
30-39	24	39.3
40-49	15	24.6
50-59	—	—
60-69	2	3.3
Total	61	100.0

The age distribution of the workers having families is shown in Table 26. It will be noted that 67 per cent is over 29 and

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162 28 per cent is over 39. The average age is 34. 37. Compared with resident workers, whom we have already described in the preceding chapter, those having families seemed to be older, as more persons concentrated in the 30-39 age interval rather than in the 20-29 age interval.

The work of the 61 operatives at the factory at the time of the investigation may be tabulated as follows:

463 466 **Table 27.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 61 Chiu Ta Workers Having Families**

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	2
	Salt baking	8	1
	Salt dissolving	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		7
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	8
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	5
	Store room	8	3
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	24
	Watchman	12	2
	Cook	12	2
	Tea kettle keeper	12	2
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Servant	indefinite	2
	Total		39
Grand total			61

463 The previous occupations pursued by these 61 workers were found to be: agricultural work 22, skilled work 8, unskilled work 22, mercantile 9, and soldier and police 3.

162 The families of these 61 workers were small in size, the average size being 3.72 persons. More than two-thirds of the

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families had, on the average, four members or less each. As to member relationship, husbands and wives and their offspring constituted 87 per cent of all persons. It may perhaps be argued from this that the working class family in towns tends to be small in size and to limit its membership essentially, if not entirely, to the couple and their children.

Table 28.—Size and Member Relationship of 61 Families

Number of persons in family	Number of families	Per cent
2	15	24.6
3	16	26.2
4	15	24.6
5	5	8.2
6	6	9.9
7	4	6.5
Total	61	100.0
Average number of persons per family	3.72	

Member relationship	Number of persons	Per cent
Heads of family (i. e. workers)	61	26.9
Wives	58	25.6
Sons	38	16.7
Daughters	41	18.0
Fathers	2	0.9
Mothers	9	4.0
Brothers	8	3.5
Sisters	3	4.4
Daughters-in-law	2	0.9
Sister-in-law	1	0.4
Grandson	1	1.4
Nephews	2	0.9
Niece	1	0.4
Total	227	100.0

The distribution of the ages of marriage of the 58 couples is shown in Table 29. It will be found that the husbands married later than wives; 50 of the latter versus 20 of the former married before the age of 20. Taken together, 90 persons were married before the age of 25. The late marriage of the worker was in most cases due to his incapacity to support a family.

The age difference between the husbands and the wives was that 48 of the former were older than the latter, and only in seven cases wives were older than husbands by from one to four years.

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Table 29.—Ages of Marriage of 58 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	14[2]
16-20	18	36
21-25	13	7
26-30	15[1]	1
31-35	5[1]	—
36-40	5[1]	—
Total	58	58
Average age of mariage[3] ...	24.1	17.4

[1] One of them reported the age of his second marriage.
[2] One of them is the "son's betrothed." At the age of 11, she came to live with her would-be-mother-in-law but her marriage did not take place then.
[3] Excluding ages of second marriage

The members of the 61 families totalled 227, the males and females being about equally divided. Of all the members, over 35 per cent were children under 15, while about 60 per cent were between 15 and 59. Thus the majority was either in blooming

Table 30.—Age and Employment of Members of 61 Families

Age	Males				Females			Total	Per cent
	Chiu Ta factory	Other work	Unemployed	Total	Gainfully employed	Unemployed	Total		
Under 5	—	—	22	22	—	21	21	43	28.6
5-9	—	—	13	13	3	6	9	22	
10-14	—	—	3	3	4	8	12	15	16.7
15-19	5	—	3	8	7	8	15	23	
20-29	19	2	—	21	14	13	27	48	21.1
30-39	24	—	—	24	12	5	17	41	18.1
40-49	15	—	2	17	—	4	4	21	9.3
50-59	—	—	1	1	1	4	5	6	2.6
60-69	2	—	—	2	—	5	5	7	3.1
70-79	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	0.4
All ages	65	2	45	112	41	74	115	227	100.0

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youth or in vigorous and strong manhood. There were among the male members 67 gainfully employed versus 45 unemployed. If we exclude the boys under 15 who were not yet fit to work, the unemployed would be approximately 10 per cent. Among the female members, there were only 41 employed versus 74 unemployed; in fact, if the girls under 15 were not considered, the number of females employed and that of females unemployed was about equal.

It will have been noted that 65 of the employed males in the 61 families were all working at the Chiu Ta Works. Of this number, 61 may be considered as principal wage earners of the respective families, while four others were only earning wages to supplement the family income. The earnings of the female members were generally insignificant. They were mainly engaged in sewing salt bags or making garments which were used as gifts to the workers, but it seems that the work had been very much reduced during the last year, since the curtailment of the production of salt and also the commutation of the gifts of clothing.

Table 31.—Value of Property of 61 Families

Value of property	Number of families
Under $1,000	27
$1,000 and under $2,000	14
$2,000 and under $3,000	2
$3,000 and under $4,000	1
$4,000 and under $5,000	2
$5,000 and above	1
Families owning properties	47
Families owning no property	14
Total	61

According to the reports of the workers, 47 of the 61 working families possessed property of some kind, but only two of

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represent 26.6 per cent of the total of that class, mechanics 11.3 per cent, and common workers 8.3 per cent.

Regarding the nativity of the 50 workers under investigation, most of the mechanics and assistants were from Chihli and most of the firemen and common labourers from Shantung. This reflects in general the nativity distribution of the total number of workers.

The age of the 50 workers was comparatively young, for 23 of them were below the age of 25, 18 between the ages of 26 and 35, and 9 between the ages of 36 and 40. No worker was older than 40.

Table 47 shows the kinds of work and working hours of the 50 workers. Mechanics, firemen and assistants generally have fixed work, while common labourers often change their jobs in the factory.

Table 47.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers		Working hours	Number of workers
	Mechanics	8	10
	Firemen	8	4
	Assistants	8	7
Common workers	Soda worker	8	13
	Cleaner	8	5
	Repairing	8	2
	Store keeper	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	1
	Coal-carrier	8	1
	Ten-room attendant	12	1
	Watchman	12	3
	Dustman	indefinite	1
	Total	.....	50

The various kinds of occupation which these workers had pursued before they joined the factory were as follows: farmers 22, artisans and workers 12, coolies 5, merchants 7 and students 4. Mechanics, being skilled workers, are recruited largely from

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those who had experience in other places. As the assistants are required to know some elementary English and arithmetic, most of them were students of primary schools. The majority of the common workers, however, come from the farmer class.

As shown in Table 48, the size of the family of these 50 workers varied from 2 to 16 members, with an average of 6.4 persons to a family. About 56 per cent of the families had from 3 to 6 members to a family. It appears that the constitution of these families is by no means homogeneous. Such members of the family as parents, brothers, sisters, sister-in-law, nephews, nieces etc. constituted as much as 68 per cent of the total.

Table 48.—Size and Member Relationship of 50 Families

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	Per cent
2	3	6
3	5	10
4	6	12
5	8	16
6	9	18
7	4	8
8	3	6
9	3	6
10	4	3
11	2	4
12	2	4
16	1	2
Total	50	100
Average number of persons per family	6.4	

Number Relationship	Number	Per cent
Head of families (i. e. workers)	50	15.6
Wives	20	6.3
Sons	17	5.3
Daughters	15	4.7
Fathers	29	9.1
Mothers	40	12.5
Brothers	67	20.9
Sisters	13	4.1
Sisters-in-law	23	7.2
Nephews	22	6.9
Nieces	12	3.8
Uncles	5	1.5
Aunts	4	1.2
Grandfathers	1	0.3
Grandmothers	2	0.6
Total	320	100.0

The economic condition of the 50 families varies. Generally speaking, firemen and common workers came from country districts of Chihli and Shantung and they had small lots of land to maintain the livelihood of their families. The families of mechanics lived mostly near Tientsin and they depended primari-

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ly on their skill to make a living. Whatever little property they might have was not sufficient for the subsistence of their families, and they must have depended upon their earnings to support them.

Table 49.—Value of Property of the Families of 50 Resident Workers

Value of property	Number of worker's families
Under $1,000	23
$1,000 and under $2,000	14
$2,000 and under $3,000	7
$3,000 and under $4,000	1
$4,000 and under $5,000	1
Families owning properties	46
Families owning on property	4
Total	50

The assistants, as a rule, were young and capable of self-support, as the family burden was usually borne by their fathers or brothers. Their economic conditions were, therefore, comparatively better.

It was found that 46 of the workers had some property. The estimated value of the properties is distributed as in Table 49.

Of the 50 workers, 22 were married, but two of them later became widowers. The ages of marriage of the 22 couples are

Table 50.—Age of Marriage of 22 Couples

Age of marriage	Husbands	Wives
11-15	2	4[1]
16-20	12	16
21-25	7	2
26-30	1	—
Total	22	22
Average age of marriage	19.4	17.9[2]

[1] Two of this group were daughters-in-law-to-be who began to live with her furture husband's family at this early age.
[2] Excluding two daughters-in-law-to-be.

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shown in Table 50. Excluding the two daughters-in-law-to-be, the earliest age of marriage was 14. Most girls were married before 20 and none of them among this group of families were married after 21. The difference of age between husband and wife is about 2 years either way.

The educational standard of the various classes of workers differs from one another. For instance, the work of the assistants is such that they all should receive some education and consequently no illiterate could be found among their class. Table 51 shows the distribution of literacy and illiteracy of the 50 workers to be 34 and 16 respectively. The percentage of illiteracy was higher among firemen and common workers than in the other two classes.

Table 51.—Literacy and Illiteracy of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers	Total number of workers investigated	Illiterates	Literates	
			Those who can not read newspaper	Those who can read newspaper
Machanics	10	1	3	6
Firemen	4	3	—	1
Assistants	7	—	1	6
Common workers	29	12	10	7
All classes	50	16	14	20

It was further found that out of the 50 workers, 20 had received no education whatsoever, while the others were either graduates of primary schools or of private schools. Only seven of them were found at the time of investigation to attend the Workmen's School of the factory, the others being contented with little or no education.

The income of the Pacific workers as has been mentioned, is derived from four different sources (1) wages (2) allowance for working overtime (3) extra month's pay and (4) commutation of gifts. All these items of income of the 50 resident workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927 and